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I'LL TAKE MY STAND:
THE SOUTHERN SEGREGATION ACADEMY MOVEMENT

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in American Studies
in the Graduate School of
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May, 1974

This dissertation, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of The University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

I'LL TAKE MY STAND:
THE SOUTHERN SEGREGATION ACADEMY MOVEMENT
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Martin Heidigger said, "The genuine teacher is only superior to the students in that he has far more to learn than they, namely, to let learning occur." It has been my great fortune to have had on my committee three such genuine teachers -- Charles Biebel, Ferenc Szasz, and Joel Jones -- all of whom have taught and guided me in ways which have "let learning occur," namely, they have encouraged me to ask my own questions.

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Finally, I wish to dedicate this study to Darden, Camille, and Patrick Gladney -- my sister and brothers who were and are students at Claiborne Academy -- and to acknowledge my indebtedness to the other members of my family who by taking their stand have enabled me also to stand, even though it be against them.

I'LL TAKE MY STAND:
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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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I'll Take My Stand:
The Southern Segregation Academy Movement

Margaret Rose Gladney, Ph.D.

American Studies

The University of New Mexico, 1974

This study examines as a social and historical movement the development of segregation academies -- the private, all-white elementary and secondary schools founded in the South for the purpose of avoiding public school integration since the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation ruling.

Chapter I begins by describing the development of Claiborne Academy, the segregation academy in my home town of Homer, Louisiana, in order to establish my relationship to the subject. The chapter describes the nature of the primary research, interviews with state and regional administrators who are leaders in the Southern Independent School Association, and principals, teachers, and students in 25 academies in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Virginia.

Chapter II traces the development of the academy movement from its earliest beginnings in the massive resistance forces in Southside Virginia during the late 1950's to its epidemic stages from 1969 to 1972. It also describes the development of state and regional organizations, which strengthen the local academy's influence and ability to maintain a hardened segregationist philosophy.

Chapter III identifies the people involved in establishing

the schools, the circumstances leading to their involvement, and their motivations for supporting the movement. The Academy movement leaders see themselves as resistors of tyranny from the federal government, community benefactors, and preservers of liberty and the "right" of freedom of association. Furthermore, they feel they are alert to the dangers of progressive education and subversive ideas. They often claim to be concerned primarily with "quality" education, but their definition of quality inevitably includes racial segregation. Their standards are rarely different from those maintained by the white public schools before integration.

Finally, Chapter IV examines the significance of the segregation academies in Southern and American culture as a whole. The significance of the academy movement in the black belt areas of the South, where the academies are most popular, takes on immense importance in terms of the support of local public education. In these areas the private schools have effectively re-established the crippling injustice of dual school systems which perpetuate institutionalized racism and ineffective education for all. From a regional and national perspective, the existence of the academies attests to 1) the existence of thousands of white Southerners still committed to segregation of the races at any cost and 2) the failure of American public education generally to offer equality of opportunity and to do much more than perpetuate racial and social injustice through the schools.

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The human heart dares not stay away too long from
that which hurt it most.

Lillian Smith
Killers of the Dream

Chapter I

"What Do You See When You Look at This School?"

In the summer of 1969 white parents and community leaders concerned about the imminent threat of total desegregation in the public schools of Claiborne Parish, Louisiana, (where the ratio of blacks to whites is 60:40) made plans to open private schools for white students in the parish's two major towns, Homer and Haynesville. On August 28, 1969, Homer Academy opened in the rural Calvary Baptist Church with 26 pupils in eight grades, and Haynesville Academy opened in the First Baptist Church of Haynesville with 88 students in eight grades. After the Supreme Court's October, 1969, ruling in Alexander v. Holmes Co. Board of Education eliminated dual public school systems, in February of 1970 enrollment in each of the academies jumped to 120.

For years Haynesville and Homer High School had been bitter athletic rivals, but all differences were soon buried in the face of the common enemy of integration. In the summer of 1970, citizens from both communities joined together to build a private all-white school for the entire parish. The spirit of community cooperation and dedication, the all-out support in terms of time and talent, as well as money, which poured into the effort to create and maintain the school was most impressive. As one of the charter members of the school

board remarked, "Old timers say they can't recall a community getting together so selflessly as was evident in the building of Claiborne Academy."¹ Parents and other interested people donated the land, money for almost all of the materials and equipment, and a great deal of the labor for the school's \$500,000 plant. On a given Sunday afternoon, one could find 25 to 30 adults at the school site working on the grounds for a football field and stadium. The response to various money-raising activities was overwhelmingly successful. Claiborne Academy opened in the fall of 1970 with 350 students in 12 grades. The following year a kindergarten was added, and by 1972 the enrollment had increased to over 500, or at least 25 per cent of the parish's white educable school children.

The story of Claiborne Academy was repeated with only minor variations in numerous communities throughout the South. The Southern Regional Council estimated that in October, 1970, prior to the Alexander decision, 300,000 students were attending segregated private schools in the eleven Southern states. They revised that estimate to 400,000 by May of 1970 and to 535,000 for the 1971-72 school year.² Writing for the Southern Regional Council in September, 1973, John Egerton estimated that "at least 1000 private schools have been opened in the eleven Southern states in the past decade to provide white students an avenue of escape from public school desegregation."³

The Honorable Frank M. Dougherty, Judge of the Second

Judicial District Court of the State of Louisiana, captured much of the spirit of idealism and sacrificial zeal which accompanied the rise of the segregation academy movement when he spoke on the morning of April 26, 1971, at the dedication ceremonies for the site of Claiborne Academy's football stadium:

What do you see when you look at this school? Some will see a collection of buildings on a sandy hill. Some will see a school not nearly so fine as the one they formerly attended. But many will see a dream that came true -- and a dream that has become a living reality.

Why is it here? Yes, why is it here! Because someone loved you, that is why. Because someone loved you so much they were willing to dig deep into their earnings to provide this wonderful thing for you. This school, my young friends, was conceived in the visions of courageous and determined men and women. It was built by loving hearts and willing hands.

What does this school say? Why it says many things. Among other things, it says to the Federal Bureaucracy: "You shall not dictate to us How We Shall Educate Our Children!" It expresses the deepest yearning in the heart of man -- the yearning to be free. By its very presence, it says to the world, "We shall be free!"

We have gathered here today to dedicate still another part of this growing institution -- a playing field which we believe will be an integral part of this Academy and this Community. We dare to look beyond today to other years and to other generations of youths who will come forth on this field to do battle for their school.

Now, as we dedicate this field, let each of us here re-dedicate our lives to those principles which brought forth a Republic in the midst of

a wilderness. Let each of us open his heart
in Thanks to our Heavenly Father who made all
of this possible.⁴

The zeal surrounding the building of the academy fed on long-established racial fears and prejudices, and so necessarily increased the tensions between blacks and whites in the area. Even among whites, however, the emotional fervor was not entirely a unifying force. Life-long friendships were marred and sometimes completely severed as members of the white community divided over the issue of supporting private versus public schools. The split was particularly noticeable in churches. The two Homer ministers who openly voiced support for the public schools are no longer there.

Sometimes the division of loyalties extended to separate members of the same family. Homer, Louisiana, has been my family's home for four generations. The land for Claiborne Academy was donated by my father and my uncle, although my father was at the time a member of the public school board. My uncle is on the board of directors of Claiborne Academy. My mother has taught Latin and English there. My brothers, sister, and cousins are all students there. During most of the summer of 1970, however, I was teaching in a summer school program in Memphis, Tennessee, designed to foster better relations between blacks and whites in the Memphis public schools. When I returned to Homer and was confronted with my family's active involvement in the building of the segregated

academy, my initial reaction was anger and disgust. This was followed by futile efforts to argue with and dissuade at least members of my immediate family. Finally, however, we reached an impasse, and I retreated into silence. I refused to go to see Claiborne Academy, and I refused to participate in conversations where it was discussed. I simply tried to block it out of my thinking; and while other family members were building the academy's football field, I left for Albuquerque and American Studies at the University of New Mexico.

" . . . Now I want you to tell me just one thing more. Why do you hate the South?"

"I don't hate it," Quentin said, quickly, at once, immediately,"

William Faulkner, Absalom, Absalom

Quentin Compton's answer is perhaps the final spoken answer of the countless Southerners, known and unknown, who have struggled with the why of all that is "the South" and themselves in relation to it. But even as the words of denial are spoken, there is the consciousness of what W. J. Cash called "the exasperated hate of a lover who cannot persuade the object of his affections to his desire."⁵ I suspect that few Southerners have simply hated the South; the relationship is always fraught with ambiguity because it is always one of both loving and hating. And to confront the hated is almost certainly to confront the loved. Furthermore, what most people hate about the South is always finally connected to

racism, whether institutionalized or not. So it is that one of the most recently established manifestations of this racism, the segregation academies, has become the literal and symbolic object of all that I hate about the South. And true to the historical pattern of love/hate, the very people whom I love the most have been intimately involved in the establishing and maintaining of just such an academy in my own home town.

One way for the Southerner to deal with the feelings of hate is to leave the South. My going to New Mexico was at least partially such a flight. An alternative to running away, however, may be to face the object of hate and in some way to deal with the hatred so that finally it may be transcended. Richard King suggests that Cash did just that in the process of writing The Mind of the South.⁶ My reading of Cash's book began my own conscious effort to stop running away. My return to the South for the purpose of visiting the schools and talking with and listening to the people who are actually involved in the segregation academy movement, my reading what others have observed of these schools, and finally my actual writing of this dissertation -- all are the beginning of the alternative process of actually confronting the hatred and the hated.

The idea of writing about the segregation academies as a social moment emerged from my reading of the section in The Mind of the South on the building of the cotton mills

after the Civil War. As Cash interpreted the situation, the decision to bring the Yankee industry and progress to the poverty-stricken South, the creation of the dream of the "New South" in the 1870's and '80's, grew out of a desire by the ruling whites to improve their own economic situation, but also, perhaps more fundamentally, from the need to maintain white supremacy, which was severely threatened by the lack of jobs for the poor or common whites. It was considered intolerable that poor whites should be forced to compete with blacks on an equal basis economically; for economic equality would surely lead to social equality, which the ruling whites thought would ultimately destroy the entire Southern social fabric.⁷ The building of cotton mills was seen as the economic, and ultimately the social, redeemer of the South. Cash referred to The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South by Broadus Mitchell, (1921) in which the passage of the "Cotton Mill Campaign" through the South was likened to the passage of the great Methodist revival of the early nineteenth century.⁸ Quoting Gerald W. Johnson, who also spoke from the Mitchell record, Cash gave the following description of the movement:

This was not a business, but a social enterprise. . . .the main thing was the salvation of the decaying community, and especially the poor whites, who were in danger of being submerged altogether. The record of those days is filled with a moral fervor that is astounding. People were asked to take stock in the mills for the town's sake, for the poor people's sake, for the South's sake, literally for God's sake. . . .⁹

Reading these passages reminded me all too clearly of the kind of zeal and almost religious fervor which I had seen displayed in the building of Claiborne Academy.

Ironically, Cash noted that the interest of the ruling class in establishing public schools, or education for the poor whites, and even the blacks, was the second part of the New South dream in the 1870's and 1880's. He expressed the thinking of those Southern leaders in the following words:

With the factory we shall make the South rich. And winning riches, we shall be able fully to develop the school. And with the school, we shall not only set up a potent guarantee that white men shall not sink into equality with the black, we shall also train our sons, and those of the commoners as well, to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by industrial growth and its commercial consequences, and so to make the land richer still.

With the factory and the school, in fine, we shall finally conquer the frontier left us by the Yankee, complete the victory we hold so precariously on the political side, and establish the South on an impregnable base.¹⁰

For Cash, the emergence of the New South dream was in large part a revolution of tactics rather than a change of mind. The rhetoric and intention of the Civil War, of resistance, remained. At the root of the widespread establishment of public schools, then, was the old racist desire to keep the whites and blacks in their separate places. Of course, that was not the only reason that schools were built. And, as Cash also pointed out, the bringing in of factories and schools set in motion almost incalculably great forces for the

complication of the social scene and multiplied and intensified conditions in the Southern world which could only work at cross-purposes with the old South mind.¹¹ Still, I must agree with Cash that the Southern mind is fundamentally "continuous with the past."¹² So long as the underlying purpose of the public schools, the maintenance of the Southern racist position, was secure, the South remained strongly committed to public education. When the 1896 Supreme Court decision of Plessy v. Ferguson, the ruling which legalized separate but equal schools, was overturned in 1954, the South's true feelings burst forth again. How tragically ironic it is that the same fervor noted in the Redeemers' call for factories and schools in the 1880's can be seen once again in the South of the 1960's and 1970's in the turning away from those public schools to building private schools for the same old purpose -- to maintain and promote the Southern way. Thus it is that Cash's conclusions about the South in 1940 are still unfortunately relevant today: "So far from being modernized, in many ways it has actually marched away, as to this day it continues to do, from the present to the past."¹³

Cash's description of the values and traits of the Southern mind which seemed to exist throughout Southern history was especially incisive: "suspicion toward new ideas, an inclination to act from feeling rather than from thought, an exaggerated individualism and a too narrow concept of social responsibility, attachment to fictions and

false values and a tendency to justify cruelty and injustice in the name of those values."¹⁴ When I read this passage, I immediately thought of the attitudes and values I had seen expressed in the building of Claiborne Academy. I decided to find out if the segregation academy movement was indeed one more example of the South's continuous past and ultimately to speculate, at least, upon the meaning, for myself and perhaps for others, of the existence of these schools in America today.

Because of my personal relationship to the problem, I chose to go first to the persons involved, to get their opinions and ideas about what they were trying to do in the schools before I read what others had done and said about the academy movement. I went initially to the people whom I knew were personally involved with Caliborne Academy and other similar schools in Louisiana. From these initial conversations in May of 1972, I began to get an idea of the extent of the movement throughout the South. From them I learned of the existence of state and regional organizations of these newly formed private schools. From the president of the Louisiana Independent School Association I obtained the names and addresses of the presidents and/or executive secretaries of the corresponding associations in Mississippi, Alabama, and Virginia. To gain access to a representative sampling (a minimum of 10 per cent of the schools in each of the four

states), I found it helpful and convenient to work through the established structures of the state associations. Their key people had information and insights into the total movement which were most valuable to me. I decided to limit my personal interviews to schools in the Deep South states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana because the organizations of these states were strongest and largest. Their leaders had also had contacts with leaders of similar organizations in South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Their experience and my own reading assured me of the continuity of purpose and philosophy of the academies throughout the South. Finally, I extended my research to include a brief visit to Virginia because of its historical importance in the movement.

Most of the interviews were made in January, March, and May of 1973. During each school visit I always talked with the headmaster or principal, frequently with teachers, and whenever possible with students or parents. In March I attended the state wide student council meetings of the Louisiana Independent School Association and of the Mississippi Private School Association, where I had the opportunity to talk with students, parents, and teachers from many more schools than I was able to visit. Both in informal conversations and in more formal interviews, I tried to discover the individual attitudes and personal philosophies, as well as school

policies and goals, and the circumstances which led each person to support the segregation academy movement.

I found in Harvard psychologist Robert Coles' method of research not only great support and encouragement but also an ideal model for my own interviewing. Coles is the ideal interviewer, not only because he listens and is able to get others to talk to him, but also because he moves beyond listening to actively engaging in dialogue with those whom he interviews. Often I found it very difficult to openly question the opinions of those whom I interviewed, but I think that level of dialogue comes over an extended period of contact time and after much practice. Most of my interviews were on a one-time basis and for only an hour or two. I also appreciate Coles' awareness of the importance of himself in relationship to all that he sees, hears, and writes. He is not a "neutral" source reporting on various "subjects" in varying conditions of crisis in contemporary American society; he is there, living and interacting in the lives of the persons of whom he writes. In Farewell to the South (1972), after so many years of listening and questioning and writing, he still had to struggle with questions of his relationship to the people he studied:

On dozens of occasions at psychiatric and psychoanalytic meetings or conferences I have been asked what I "did" for the children or youths I worked with; less often, but still

somewhat repeatedly, I have been asked what they "did" for or to me, how they "affected" me. As I have said on a number of occasions, it is rather obvious that "they" managed to educate me, to teach me a very great deal. But the colleagues of mine who asked the questions I just mentioned had what they call "subjective factors" in mind. I am not sure one can so easily distinguish between what one learns and how one feels. What one learns has a lot to do with how one feels.¹⁵

Coles does not pretend to an objectivity that is neither real nor humanly possible.

I, too, was concerned with my relationship to those whom I interviewed. The schools became symbols, but the persons had to be listened to with as much openness as possible. I listened to these people for several reasons -- not only because they were sources of information, but also because it is with such men and women, all acting out their various ideals and beliefs, that I will have to live out my life.

In addition to the interviews, I found a great deal of supportive evidence in the secondary sources dealing directly and indirectly with the segregation academy movement. Supporting Cash's thesis that the mind of the South is continuous with its past are the historical studies of Southern resistance since 1954. Numan Bartley's The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950's (1969) depicts the extreme resistance to school desegregation as part of a social, political, and economic power structure that

historically had dominated the South, particularly the Black Belt areas of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, and Virginia, since Reconstruction. He views the South's opposition to social change in the 1950's as both "a part of a national reaction by white citizens to the changing position of Negroes in American society"¹⁶ and "a resurgence of the same forces of white supremacy, the black belt county and small town bourgeoisie, that had produced the stimuli for secession and redemption, that had provided the basic support for the defeat of populism and for the 1948 Dixiecrat campaign."¹⁷ Dealing with the decade following the period of extreme massive resistance, Gary Orfield's The Reconstruction of Southern Education: The Schools and the 1964 Civil Rights Act (1969) recognizes the growth of private schools as "a less dramatic but perhaps more important indication of local resistance" and sees the schools as evidence of "Southern forces regrouping, /leaving the citadel of segregation intact."¹⁸ Orfield's examination of the private school movement focuses primarily on their development and influence in Virginia, but his book is very helpful for the record of the first phase of the academy movement and especially important in placing the role of the segregated academies in the larger perspective of the total national response to the civil rights movement.

The most detailed studies of massive resistance and of the academy movement have focused on Virginia. That the Old

Dominion should be so singled out is not surprising. Virginia's illustrious Senator Harry Byrd coined the phrase "massive resistance," and the Prince Edward County schools in Virginia's Southside were among the original defendants in the cases which led to the 1954 Supreme Court's desegregation ruling. The series of state legislative activities through which Virginians were forced to close any public school faced with integration led to the establishment of the nationally publicized segregation academies. In Virginia's Massive Resistance (1961) Benjamin Muse presents the total political picture of Virginia's resistance to school desegregation and also gives the social and historical background of that part of Virginia known as the Southside, which closely resembles the Black Belt areas of the Deep South. This book is important as a study of the early stages of the segregation academy movement and the many forces which led to its development.

The most famous of Virginia's segregation academies, Prince Edward Academy in Farmville, Virginia, has been looked to by academy organizers all over the South as the model and leader in the segregation academy movement. Prince Edward County was the only place in the country where massive resistance forces succeeded in closing the public school system for five years while supporting only the segregation academy. Consequently, perhaps the initial defense of the segregation academy movement was a small pamphlet, The Prince Edward

County, Virginia, Story, written by John C. Steck and first published by The Farmville Herald in March, 1960.

In a special report for the Southern Regional Council (February, 1961), Mary Ellen Goodman chronicled the organization of the all-white private schools in Warren and Prince Edward counties and in Norfolk and Charlottesville, Virginia. A model of thoroughness, her report examines the political and economic facets of the school crisis, the role of students, community support, financing, transportation, and organizational structure of four Virginia school systems. She notes what I have also observed in my interviews, that many Southerners who are connected with the schools talk and respond more in terms of an emphasis on conservative, traditional education than in particularly racial terms. Although published in 1961 and focusing on just four schools in one state, her story presents the total picture of the segregation academy movement more accurately than many of the more recent reports. My research twelve years later continues to support her findings, particularly her observations of people's feelings and self images:

The people who are now sending their children to the Foundation private schools see themselves simultaneously as community benefactors and as citizens alert to the hazards of "progressive education," and "subversive ideas." In addition they are, as they see it, supporting and "fighting for" such sacred principles as "freedom of association," "individual liberty," and the "rights" of the individual community

and state; also. and underlying all others --
the "purity" of their race.¹⁹

One of the most valuable sources of information on school desegregation and related events during the 1960's is the Southern Education Reporting Service. The Southern Education Report of 1966 contains one of the best early surveys of the growth of private schools throughout the South. This survey, written by Jim Leeson, the director of information and research for SERS, documents in terms of number of pupils, finances, curriculum, and general philosophy the early conditions of specific academies in Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Arkansas, Virginia, Tennessee, and Texas.²⁰

Writers for the Southern Regional Council have done most of the important factual studies which have focused directly on the segregation academy movement in the South from its earliest beginnings in Virginia in the late fifties through the sixties and into the seventies.²¹ Included in articles by Reese Cleghorn and Kitty Terjen are trends and figures from all over the South, as well as accounts of schools in specific local situations. Terjen is particularly concerned with the various court rulings, specifically those regarding the Internal Revenue Service and tax exemption status for segregated schools, which continue to affect the academy movement.²² Cleghorn focuses on several key leaders in the

movement and their right wing and/or Citizens' Council oriented philosophies.²³ Writing in the Southern Regional Council's quarterly, New South, Cynthia Brown and Marlene Provizer depict the resegregation of schools in Sumter County, Georgia, as a result of private school leaders' controlling public schools in that area.²⁴ Also in the New South, John Yeates discusses the economic and political threat of private academies in the smaller towns,²⁵ and Winifred Green points out what may be a more lasting influence of the segregation academies -- the harm rendered their own pupils when they are "trained . . . in the myth of their superiority" and thus must live with "the guilt and self-deception that it takes to maintain the myth."²⁶

Differing dramatically in viewpoint from the writers of the Southern Regional Council, but also included in the list of recent studies of the segregation academies is the work of a non-Southerner, Samuel L. Blumenfeld's How to Start Your Own Private School -- And Why You Need One (1972). Proclaiming the need for private schools as alternatives to public education throughout the country, Blumenfeld devotes approximately one-fourth of his book to a survey of the newly established segregation academies. He visited schools in Virginia, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina and praises highly the South's return to the Southern tradition of independence and parental responsibility.²⁷ Claiming that the white Southerners who support the new schools are not racially prejudiced but

are "resistors of tyranny," he shares many of the views of education proclaimed by leaders of the segregation academies.²⁸ He makes special efforts to counteract or disprove the strongly negative images presented of the South's academies by the "Yankee press." When visiting a particular school he was especially impressed by the short hair, neat appearances, and respectful "Yes, sir's"! Almost on the basis of these outward appearances alone, it seems he is willing to conclude that the new Southern academies are models of quality education.

Hodding Carter III's description of the origins and rise to power of the Councils in Mississippi in The South Strikes Back (1959) and Neil R. McMillen's comprehensive documentation of the growth and decline of the Council throughout the South in The Citizens' Council. Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction 1956-64 (1971) are also important sources of background information for my study. The most powerful single organization to come out of the massive resistance era, the Citizens' Council, has been widely influential, both as a sponsoring organization and through leadership of its individual members, in the establishment of segregation academies throughout the South. The Council membership is often made up of those whom Numan Bartley labels "neobourbons," a name which once again links the present with the past in Southern history. It is not surprising that the Citizens' Council's monthly publication, The Citizen, has carried articles on

the organization and activities of segregation academies since their earliest beginnings.

Other studies of nonpublic schools on a nationwide basis mention the segregated academies of the South and are useful in placing the academies in the perspective of the role of private schools generally. Otto F. Kraushaar in American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns in Diversity (1972) and Donald A. Erickson in Public Controls for Nonpublic Schools each devote important chapters to racial discrimination in private schools, particularly to the legal decisions which affect private schools. Erickson's work has been concerned primarily with Catholic schools, but he and John Donovan co-author a report, The Three R's of Nonpublic Education in Louisiana: Race, Religion, and Region (1972), which involves the status of segregation academies as well as parochial schools in Louisiana.

Two dissertations have been written specifically on the Southern segregated academies: Allen Davis Cleveland's "Alabama's Private, Nonsectarian Elementary and Secondary Schools in 1970," and James Allen Sansing's "A Descriptive Survey of Mississippi Private Segregated Elementary and Secondary Schools in 1971." Using questionnaires patterned after portions of James Coleman's 1966 survey entitled Equality of Educational Opportunity which was conducted by the National Center for Educational Statistics of the United

States Office of Education, both Cleveland and Sansing seek primarily to evaluate the quality of education offered in the private schools in terms of quantitative variables, such as physical plant, pupil-teacher ratio, per-pupil expenditure, tuition cost per pupil, age of school. I also gathered information in these areas during my interviews, but the focus of my study is not confined to these terms. While I do not wish to imply that these factors are unimportant, I think that in the long run they may be of secondary importance compared to the effect of the generally racist philosophy which seems to be the foundation of these schools. In many cases it is really too soon to judge realistically the quality of education of these newly established schools, although educators within as well as outside them are eager for "hard data" comparing the quality of education, in terms of student performance on standardized tests, between public schools and private academies in the same area. It will be at least another eight years before the latest group of schools, which, like Claiborne Academy, were established in 1970, can claim a graduating class which is fully the product of their education.

In addition to bringing together the results of these scattered studies of the academy movement in various states and localities in the South, and adding updated, supportive

information from my interviews, this study will consider the development of the segregation academies as a social and historical movement and will endeavor to determine their significance in Southern and American culture as a whole. The development of the segregation academies in the South suggests their link with forces which have in the past actively determined the course of Southern history. But are these schools anything more than a remnant of the earlier massive resistance movement? What part, if any, do they play in the multiple cries of dissatisfaction with the current status of public education in America as a whole? And finally, what is their future and what will be their significance, if any, in the future of the South and the rest of the nation? It is my hope that the information and opinions gathered from the persons I interviewed, supported by information already written about the segregation academies, will provide some answers to these questions.

A fellow Southerner, Walker Percy, has already dealt very effectively with the place of the segregation academy in our culture in his most recent novel, Love in the Ruins. Although the academy plays a very minor role in the overall plot, its major significance is that it exists at all in this novel of the future.

A flag stirs fitfully on its pole beside the green rectangle dug into the slope of the near ridge like a step. It is the football field

of the Valley Forge Academy, our private school, which was founded on religious and patriotic principles and to keep Negroes out.²⁹

In Percy's total view of a nation in the throes of decay and rebellion within and war without, the rebellious blacks' attempted capture of white Southern womanhood, personified in the fictional Valley Forge Academy's Christian Kaydettes, is a laughing matter. The academy's presence, however, is one of the contributing factors to the social and political revolution which comprises the skeletal plot of Percy's novel. Likewise, the numerous academies throughout the South which have been founded in recent years "on religious and patriotic principles and to keep Negroes out" are certainly a small minority in terms of numbers of people and schools when compared to the total American, or even Southern, educational picture.³⁰ However, the force of Southern resistance in American culture has rarely, if ever, been felt in terms of numbers alone. The principles on which the academies have been founded -- religion, patriotism, and racism -- have served as the clarion call of Southern resistance for over 100 years, and the very fact of their existence today contributes to the perpetuation of social and political unrest and injustice.

Chapter I

FOOTNOTES

¹Interview with Paul Newell, Haynesville, Louisiana, May 23, 1972.

²Kitty Terjen, "Close-up on Segregation Academies," New South, fall, 1972, p. 50.

³John Egerton, "Segregation Academies, with Much Church Aid, Flourish in South, As Other Private Schools Wane," South Today, September, 1973, p. 6.

⁴Paul Newell, "The President's Message," in Claiborne Academy's newspaper, The Rebel Yell, December, 1971.

⁵W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941), pp. 386-87.

⁶Richard King, "The Mind of the South: Narcissus Grown Analytical," New South, winter, 1972, pp. 15-17.

⁷Cash, The Mind of the South, pp. 176-77.

⁸Cash, The Mind of the South, p. 181.

⁹Cash, The Mind of the South, p. 182.

¹⁰Cash, The Mind of the South, pp. 179-80.

¹¹Cash, The Mind of the South, p. 184.

¹²Cash, The Mind of the South, p. x.

¹³Cash, The Mind of the South, p. x.

¹⁴Cash, The Mind of the South, pp. 339-40.

¹⁵Robert Coles, Farewell to the South (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972), pp. 383-84.

¹⁶Numan V. Bartley, The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race, and Politics in the South During the 1950's (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), p. 344.

- ¹⁷Bartley, The Rise of Massive Resistance, p. 103.
- ¹⁸Gary Orfield, The Reconstruction of Southern Education: The Schools and the 1964 Civil Rights Act (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969), p. 121.
- ¹⁹Mary Ellen Goodman, Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools, Special Report #19, (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1961), p. 3.
- ²⁰Jim Leeson, "Private Schools Continue to Increase in the South," Southern Education Report, 2, No. 4 (November, 1966), 22-25.
- ²¹The Southern Regional Council was organized in 1943 with this declared purpose: "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all people in the region." Among its stated functions are "to serve as a meeting ground for citizens of all races and religious persuasions; to counteract appeals to prejudice and violence; to stimulate local initiative to work for local solutions in a full democracy, so that the legislation and judicial rulings may be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life." Don Shoemaker, ed., With All Deliberate Speed (New York: Harper Brothers, 1957), p. 23.
- ²²Terjen, "Close-up on Segregation Academies," pp. 50-58.
- ²³Reese Cleghorn, "The Old South Tries Again," Saturday Review, May 16, 1971, pp. 76 .
- ²⁴Cynthia Brown and Marlene Provizer, "The South's New Deal School System: A Case Study," New South, fall, 1972, pp. 59-72.
- ²⁵John Yeates, "Private Schools and Public Confusion," New South, fall, 1970, pp. 83-85.
- ²⁶Winifred Green, "The Struggle for Freedom: Public Education in the South," New South, fall, 1970, p. 88.
- ²⁷Samuel L. Blumenfeld, How to Start Your Own Private School -- and Why You Need One (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington House, 1972), pp. 99-102.
- ²⁸Blumenfeld, How to Start Your Own Private School, p. 163.
- ²⁹Walker Percy, Love in the Ruins (New York: Dell Printing Company, Inc., 1972), p. 12.

³⁰ According to a survey by the Office of Education, in the decade 1961-71, "despite the fact that the rate of private school growth in the South outdistanced other regions substantially, . . . the region's private school enrollment was still the lowest in the nation. In the Southeast, 6.2 per cent of all elementary and secondary pupils attend nonpublic schools as compared to the national average of 10.3 per cent." Terjen, "Close-up on Segregation Academies," p. 51. Furthermore, segregation academies are only part of the total number of nonpublic schools in the South.

Resistance Revisited

The history of the segregation academy movement has its roots in the social, political, economic, and psychological factors which gave rise to the massive resistance movement in the late 1950's. Several forces were working for change in the post-World War II South before the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision: industrialization and urbanization, which brought social anonymity and increased prosperity; the mass media, which weakened regional differences; compulsory service in desegregated armed forces; a slow growth in legal and political protection for blacks.¹ Although the region was undergoing rapid environmental and economic changes that demanded social adjustments, other mitigating factors tended to maintain the traditional Southern attitude and to produce a prime example of cultural lag. Numan Bartley, history professor at Georgia Institute of Technology, described these "essentially unrevolutionary" forces as follows:

Southerners enjoyed an increasing prosperity, but, at the same time, rising per capita income was, in part, a result of the export of numerous lower-class citizens and of poor Southerners taking low-paying and low-status factory jobs that improved their incomes without significantly changing their relative social position. The out-migration of young, college-educated Southerners represented a drain on the region's potential leadership that was only partly compensated

by in-migration. These factors combined with the persistence of rural attitudes to mitigate the impact of urbanization and industrialization on the Southern social system.

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The environment, ideology and legal basis for segregation were disappearing; yet white Southerners were by no means reconciled to basic alterations in the pattern of race relations. Clinging to past ideas of Dixie customs and tradition, Southern whites had changed their racial attitudes and practices very little in terms of day-to-day relationships.²

The one-party system of Southern politics, Bartley continued, invited demagoguery and contributed to "encouraging localism, confusing voters' comprehension of the relation of candidates to programs, eliminating 'party responsibility,' inclining campaigns toward contests of personality rather than tests of issues, promoting showmanship in elections and irresponsibility in office, and benefiting the 'have's' of society at the expense of the 'have not's.'"³ Bartley divided the Caucasian South of the fifties into three groups regarding their views on racial issues: (1) 25 per cent bitter end segregationists who would use force to prevent social change, (2) 33 per cent moderates (who did not favor integration but had no commitment to segregation and, therefore, were willing to compromise) plus the liberals, a small minority committed to integration, and (3) the middle, committed to strict segregation but who did not necessarily put racial matters at the top of their scale of values. During the fifties the middle group largely followed the white supremacists, but they were

susceptible to aggressive leadership from the moderates if and when it arose. A considerable number were unwilling to tear apart the fabric of southern society for the sake of segregation.⁴

In southern politics at mid-century there was a great void: the absence of a genuine liberal alternative on the race issue. The South lacked the urban and northern elements of a New Deal coalition, such as an ethnic-religious minority with a liberal Democratic voting record, the traditional urban "machine" politics, and the strongly politically-motivated labor unions.⁵ The rural and small-town areas of the South generally, and the black belt areas specifically, were largely over-represented in at least one house of the state legislatures, and they battled strongly to prevent legislative reapportionment.⁶ The "courthouse-merchant clique," the county and small-town areas generally -- those who controlled southern politics of the '50's and led the massive resistance movement -- have been appropriately labeled "neobourbons": "Their social, economic, and political outlook was in the tradition of nineteenth century bourbonism," said Bartley, "and, as an earlier generation of bourbons sought to end the First Reconstruction, neobourbons strove to crush the Second Reconstruction."⁷ They distrusted democracy and shared ideological assumptions with non-southern conservatives. William J. Simmons, a leader of the Citizens' Councils and the segregation academy movement,

explained:

I consider the Citizens' Council movement the beginnings of a fundamental conservative revolt throughout the country. Much more is involved than the school segregation issue. Many of our membership is /sic/ concerned also about the trend toward the welfare state, the drift toward totalitarianism, the danger of the United Nations.

The integration issue is merely an entering wedge. The movement to integrate schools is part of the liberal trend that should be stopped.⁸

This comment was significant. In both the massive resistance and the segregation academy movements, "much more /was/ involved than the school desegregation issue." But the schools remained the focal point in the civil rights battle because schools are the major vehicle of society's ideals and beliefs for both liberals and conservatives. To understand the South's resistance to the 1954 Supreme Court's ruling on school segregation, one must remember all that schools symbolize. New York Times correspondent Anthony Lewis described the symbolic nature of school segregation as follows:

Men live by symbols, and school segregation was a special symbol to the white southerner. That racial separation should carry more weight in schools than elsewhere was understandable: Attendance was compulsory, and in school children of an impressionable age could not help but affect their outlook. Putting it another way, any breakdown in school segregation necessarily endangered the perpetuation of the southern myth that the Negro is by nature culturally distinct and inferior. And there was the fear -- surely felt deeply by many in the South, however others regarded it -- that school integration was a step toward racial intermarriage.⁹

Whites felt the need to maintain the myth of Black inferiority and the reality of Black oppression in the areas where the number of Blacks approached or exceeded the number of whites in the total population. Resistance, therefore, was (and still is) strongest where whites felt most threatened by Blacks. Hodding Carter, III, editor of The Delta Democrat Times, Greenville, Mississippi, was not excusing white southerners, but simply observing facts when he noted the importance of numbers in determining the degree of fear and hostility that white southerners felt toward Blacks:

Few white Americans have ever lived in a community in which the population of non-whites is, if not larger, equal to that of the whites. Nor have many Americans grown up with a heritage of fear that this large minority or actual majority of the population is patiently awaiting an opportunity to rise up and in one fell swoop exchange its position of inferiority and servitude for one of dominance.¹⁰

Carter wrote the above statement in an effort to describe the background of the most important single organization of the massive resistance movement: the Citizens' Council. The leadership of the Citizens' Council and Bartley's neobourbons of massive resistance were often identical, and they remain the leaders, or at least significant forces in the segregation academy movement even today. There were other white supremacy states' rights organizations under different names throughout the South, but the Citizens' Councils were the most popular and most effective. Therefore, it is important to examine

the history of the Citizens' Council.

Strongly influenced by a speech which was later expanded into a book entitled Black Monday by State Circuit Judge Tom P. Brady of Mississippi, Robert B. Patterson, a delta planter, called together 14 other community leaders on the night of July 11, 1954, in Indianola, Mississippi, to organize the first Citizens' Council. The group contained the manager of a cotton compress, a druggist, two automobile dealers, a planter, a farmer, a ginner, a farm implement dealer, and a hardware dealer -- "any one of any standing" in the community. This first Citizens' Council adopted the following policies: (1) to recruit members from the same community levels as the leading civic clubs and (2) to employ only "legal means" of resistance.¹¹ With Patterson as executive secretary, by the end of 1954 the Mississippi Association of Citizen Councils counted 110 groups claiming 25,000 members. The following year William J. Simmons organized the Citizens' Councils of Jackson, Mississippi, and became an important member of Patterson's state organization. The growth of new chapters in other states led to the 1956 organization in New Orleans of the Citizens' Councils of America with Patterson as executive secretary and Simmons as editor of the official publication, The Citizen. In the peak membership periods, 1956-59, estimates of the number of Councils ranged as high as 600, with a combined membership of over 300,000, although most estimates were

considerably lower.¹²

Although the movement varied from state to state, it achieved its largest membership and greatest political power in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia¹³ -- the blackbelt South, "the same area Bartley noted⁷ that had produced the stimuli for secession and redemption, that had provided the basic support for the defeat of populism and for the Dixiecrat campaign."¹⁴ The councils drew their membership largely from the white middle class of towns and villages and with the exception of Jackson, Mississippi, from the lower-working class whites in the cities. It attracted few from the prosperous middle and upper class suburbanites, who were less likely to feel threatened by or responsible for Blacks. Yet, individuals in the professions and business frequently provided leadership for metropolitan white supremacy.¹⁵

In every southern state the Councils served as strong local organizations of white people who wanted to keep their own communities and the South segregated. They always tried to create an image of respectability and legality and carefully avoided overt violence as a means of achieving their ends.¹⁶ Leaders were often state senators, such as Sam Englehardt in Alabama and William Rainach in Louisiana, or attorneys for defendants in desegregation suits, such as Emory Rogers in South Carolina and Amis Guthridge in Arkansas.¹⁷ James M.

Crawford, a Council member in Jackson, Mississippi, felt he had captured the true spirit of the organization when he stated in an interview in March of 1973, "We are the gentlemen of the Cause." Being gentlemen, they did not wear white sheets nor burn crosses, but they used economic pressure with the same effectiveness. An incident in Yazoo City, Mississippi, in the summer of 1955 illustrated the power of their policy. "As a public service," the Citizens' Council publicized in the newspaper and on placards all over town the names of 53 Blacks who signed a petition for desegregation of the city's schools. The signers were black-listed and could not buy in local stores. All but two withdrew their names. Names on school petitions elsewhere in Mississippi and other states similarly disappeared.¹⁸

Although economic pressure was one of many measures adopted by southern resistance forces in response to the Supreme Court's desegregation order, all efforts were designed to delay desegregation as long as possible. Closing public schools and opening private segregated ones were seen as the last alternatives. An article in U. S. News and World Report of October, 1954, listed the following steps as "The Mississippi Plan to Keep Segregation":

1. Encourage Negroes to accept separate schools.
2. Improve Negro schools, as an inducement.
3. Put economic pressure on Negroes who balk.
4. Gerrymander school districts to keep races apart.
5. Set up new rules for assigning pupils to schools.

6. Discourage Negroes from registering to vote.
7. Bar many Negro voters by stiff qualifying tests.
8. Screen out political candidates who favor Negro demands.
9. Force pro-Negro agitators out of communities without violence.
10. Require alumni endorsement for all college entrants.
11. Seek legal delays in enforcing Supreme Court decisions.
12. Mobilize lawyers to fight any suits brought by Negroes.
13. Last resort -- abandon public schools.¹⁹

Of the five constituent school desegregation cases handed down in the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling, only two originated in strictly Southern localities: one in Prince Edward County, Virginia, and one in Clarendon County, South Carolina. One reporter expressed the feeling of many observers when he said, "For the first test in the South of the Supreme Court's ruling, two communities could hardly be found where tradition against racial mixing is stronger."²⁰

In predominantly rural Clarendon County, South Carolina, where Blacks outnumbered whites three to one, a group of Black parents petitioned in 1949 for equal school facilities for their children. Before the case reached the courts, it was abandoned and a new suit was instituted which asked admission of Black children to white schools. The case was before a federal court when James Byrnes in his inauguration as governor in January, 1951, urged equal school facilities. In an address before the South Carolina Education Association March 16, 1951, Governor Byrnes said, "If it is not possible to live within the law and maintain segregation, we will abandon the public schools." In 1953 Byrnes introduced an amendment to the state

constitution to provide for eliminating the public school provisions as a way of avoiding segregation.²¹

Harry Briggs, Jr., was nine years old when his father and other parents of Black children first sued the Clarendon County School Board. He was graduated from an all-Black high school in 1960.²² Public schools were not abandoned in South Carolina; no segregation academy was built there until 1964 when the state first began its token integration. Much of the credit for the delay must go to the power of the organized resistance in the state. The Superintendent of Education of Clarendon County, B. L. McCord, founded the county's first Citizens' Council in the summer of 1955. He told a reporter, "We won't have mixed schools because we have a Citizens' Council now." Blacks in South Carolina had filed 18 petitions calling for immediate implementation of the Supreme Court order. After the Councils organized, only two petitions were filed and they were not from rural areas.²³

Organized resistance effectively silenced those South Carolina whites and Blacks who dared to speak out, even moderately, for compliance with the law of the land. The experience of Chester C. Travelstead, now Vice-President of Academic Affairs at the University of New Mexico, reveals all too clearly why the South in the 1950's felt the absence of a viable liberal alternative on the racial issue. As Dean of the School of Education at the University of South Carolina, Travelstead

delivered a speech, entitled, "Today's Decisions for Tomorrow's Schools," as part of a summer lecture series at the university on August 2, 1955. In the lecture he made the following statement of personal belief:

It is my firm conviction that segregation of the races in our public schools can no longer be justified on any basis -- and should, therefore, be abolished as soon as practicable. Even though as a white southerner I have, since my early childhood, taken for granted the practices of segregation, I can find no justification of it.

He then proceeded to pose four alternatives with respect to the question of segregation and the Supreme Court's ruling:

1. Accept the Supreme Court's ruling wholeheartedly and work toward its implementation.
2. Reject completely the Court decision and work persistently to keep our public schools segregated by attempting to circumvent, delay, and out-manuever the law. This alternative might be accompanied by threatened economic boycott against anyone opposing racial segregation -- a practice recently suggested by the Mississippi White Citizens' Council. This Council has the avowed purpose of discouraging Negro voting.

These two alternatives are not likely to get large following.

3. Agree upon and submit for the approval of the appropriate court a plan of "good faith compliance" with the Supreme Court ruling. If followed, this step would probably be taken in each local community and school district in the state after due consideration by the local citizens. It would be a plan of gradual desegregation and integration, arrived at reluctantly but sincerely.
4. Abolish our public schools and attempt to

set up private schools on a segregated basis.

The last two alternatives will probably get many followers in the initial stages of the decision making.²⁴

Travelstead advocated the adoption of the third alternative. He pointed out that this choice would be possible only if the legislature repealed some of the recently adopted state anti-integration laws, such as the one cutting off all state money from any school district which assigned Black and white children to the same school. On August 21, Travelstead received a letter from the secretary of the University's Board of Trustees which said that it was "not in the best interest of the university" to renew his appointment as Dean of the School of Education.²⁵ His appointment was terminated as of June, 1956, but he took a new position at the University of New Mexico in February, 1956. Among the scores of letters of support which he received following his dismissal from the University of South Carolina, the words of a personal friend, Van Cleve Morris, then a Professor of Education at Rutgers University, expressed one of the many sad results of the South's tragic stance: "It is the old, old story of the South producing a spark of intelligence and enlightenment only to find it is too dangerous to hold on to and sending it into exile for the rest of the country to benefit from."²⁶

Far from following Travelstead's (or any other moderate's) advice, the South responded to court ordered-desegregation

with tactics of circumvention, delay, and even the closing of public schools. Although the segregation academy movement did not begin in earnest until after the passage of the 1963 Civil Rights Act, at least as early as 1957, state and local resistance groups in the upper South had tried to provide alternatives to biracial education.²⁷ White parents who objected to school desegregation in Sturgis, Kentucky, organized Union County Independent Schools, Inc., and started a school at Grove Center. The Union County Citizens' Council supported this action, but the academy closed after one year of operation because the state made no contribution to the support of private schools.²⁸

The resistance movement was greatly strengthened and internationally publicized in the fall of 1958 when Arkansas Governor Orville Faubus closed all four public high schools in Little Rock to bar nine Blacks from Central High School.²⁹ The Capital Citizens' Council gave primary support to the formation of Little Rock Private School Corporation.³⁰ A tuition grant program patterned after the G. I. Bill of Rights provided parents with \$250 for each child sent to a private school; so state funds paid the operating costs of the nonsectarian, private Raney High School. Of the \$300,000 collected in donations, only half were spent in the 1958-59 school year, and plans were made for expanding the private school to accomodate 2,000, as compared to 750 that first

year. A private school established in the Second Baptist Church had room for 367 pupils.³¹ The rest of the 2,900 white high school students either moved away to attend school, took correspondence courses, or gave up school altogether. Most of the blacks enrolled in segregated county public schools just outside Little Rock.³²

The year without public schools in Little Rock had been preceded by a school year in which integration in Central High School had been achieved only with the aid of federal troops. Governor Faubus had refused to use state forces to enforce school desegregation, and moderate voices in Little Rock were slow to speak. Finally, however, as Numan Bartley so effectively expressed it, "the ethics of cost-accounting rather than human justice"³³ took effect.

Little Rock's economy was suffering. Home building had declined since 1957 by 20 per cent; between 1950 and September 1957 forty new plants had come to Little Rock, but since then there had been none; in 1959 the city was threatened with a decline in population -- one among every five professional persons wanted to or was planning to leave the city.³⁴

On May 25, 1959, Little Rock voters removed the three pro-Faubus school board members in a recall election. In June a federal court found the state's school closing laws unconstitutional (Aaron v. Cooper), and in August the Little Rock school board reopened the city's high schools, assigning three black children to Central and three to Hall, another white school.³⁵ When the public schools reopened, the private

schools closed.³⁶

As in Little Rock, the initial absence of an effective liberal alternative, or even strong voices of moderation, to counter the forces of organized resistance to school desegregation was felt throughout the South. Resistance forces in most southern states at one time or another took seriously the supposed "last alternative" of abandoning public education by providing for the closing of public schools when these were under court order to integrate. Simultaneously, they passed laws making available state funds to white parents who wanted to send their children to segregated private institutions.³⁷ Only in Prince Edward County, Virginia, however, did this threatened "last alternative" become an established reality for five years.

As one of the original defendants in the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation case, Prince Edward County's schools in particular and the state of Virginia as a whole were in a position to lead the rest of the South in peaceful compliance with the desegregation order. Instead, Prince Edward County became a lasting symbol of massive resistance to school desegregation, and Prince Edward Academy became the model segregation academy. It is very important, therefore, to examine the Old Dominion's key role in the massive resistance movement and the circumstances which surrounded the development of Prince Edward Academy.

Prince Edward County is in the middle of Virginia's Southside, the 30 counties in southern and eastern Virginia where over 40 per cent of the total population is black.³⁸ In Prince Edward County, blacks comprised 45 per cent of the total population and 53 per cent of the school age population as compared to an over all average of 22.2 per cent in Virginia in 1950.³⁹ Although the section was not typical of the state as a whole and the residents of the area represented less than 15 per cent of the inhabitants of Virginia, like other southern black belt areas, the Southside in 1954 wielded political power vastly out of proportion to its population.⁴⁰ From the Southside came the most verbal and immediate protest against the 1954 desegregation ruling. In the state legislature Southside leaders initiated massive resistance actions; and, with Senator Harry Byrd's backing, they ruled the state from 1953 to 1959.⁴¹

These same segregationist leaders organized the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, which played the primary role in organizing the Virginia Education Fund, a private corporation formed to promote all-white private institutions.⁴² The Citizen Councils were not popular in Virginia, but the Defenders took their place as the strongest and largest pro-segregation extremist group in the state.⁴³

According to Benjamin Muse, a former Virginia state senator, Republican gubernatorial candidate, and Washington

newspaper columnist, "We have reason to suspect that Virginia's political leaders, instead of being hog-tied in constructive impulses by the prejudice of their constituents, were actually more extreme in their opposition to school desegregation than the people of the state as a whole."⁴⁴ The initial response in Virginia to the 1954 Brown decision appeared to be one of moderation. Governor Stanley appointed a commission, which in the fall of 1955 recommended a program (called the Gray Plan) based primarily upon local option, taking into account the fact that desegregation could and would come easily to many cities in northern Virginia, while in the Southside would be much more difficult. Under the proposed plan each school board was to be given authority to design its own desegregation program, and tuition grants were to be made available to send to private schools children whose parents objected to sending them to integrated public schools. Early in 1956 the voters endorsed the Gray Plan by two to one. However, the state officials, dominated by Southside segregationists, came out with the backing of the Byrd political organization against the Gray Plan and for total resistance. In 1956 a slim margin in a special session of the Virginia General Assembly adopted 13 massive resistance laws to ensure segregation in all communities. These laws removed the power to assign pupils to schools from the local school boards to a state-wide three-man Pupil Placement Board, the personnel of which assured that

no Black would ever be assigned to a white school. Furthermore, the laws provided that the governor should take control of and close any school ordered by the courts to desegregate.⁴⁵

In September, 1958, court orders for desegregation became effective in Warren County, Charlottesville, and Norfolk. Acting on the massive resistance laws, Governor Lindsay Almond closed the nine affected schools in these areas, and for five months nearly 13,000 children were without public education.⁴⁶

The first school in Virginia ordered to desegregate was Warren County High School in Front Royal. Ironically (in the opposite extreme from Prince Edward County), Warren County was not typical of Virginia as a whole in that of the total county population of 15,000, 10 per cent were Black. There was not a high school for Blacks in the county. When the public high school in Front Royal was closed, 1,040 whites and 22 Blacks were left without school. The other 100 Black high school students continued to go to school in neighboring counties, as they had all along.⁴⁷

Benjamin Muse argues that in these first three areas, since "it was not local resistance to desegregation which closed the schools in the first instance, . . . the resort to private schools was not actually an escape from integrated public schools; it was an escape from no schools at all."⁴⁸ Furthermore, he says: "Many promoters of private schools

viewed them only as temporary expedients to be abandoned as soon as public schools should be reopened, even on an integrated basis. In several instances, leaders of white tutoring groups indicated that Negroes would not be denied admission to them if they should apply."⁴⁹

In response to the closing of schools, the PTA in Warren County called an emergency meeting and established a "fact-finding" committee. From the efforts of this committee, in consultation with the governor, came the Front Royal Educational Foundation. Similar foundations appeared in Charlottesville and Norfolk. In contrast to Muse's interpretations, Mary Ellen Goodman observed that "as in Front Royal, these organizations were led by determined, articulate and uncompromising segregationists, with prominent local lawyers, editors and businessmen in key roles."⁵⁰

Responding to community pressures to reopen the schools, Governor Almond instigated a lawsuit in the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals to test the constitutionality of the state school closing laws. Some Norfolk parents brought another test case before a three-judge federal court. On January 19, 1959, both courts found the laws unconstitutional.⁵¹ Public schools in the three communities were reopened in February, 1959, but the private schools did not close. It is important to examine the experiences of these initial private school experiments, for they indicate patterns followed elsewhere in

the South.

Of the three cities with closed schools, the private school experiment proved most successful in Front Royal, the district with the smallest number of displaced pupils. In the metropolitan district of Norfolk, with 10,000 pupils to educate, the private school failed to take the place of public schools. It was easier to bring together public-spirited citizens in a small community where the extent of participation of each prominent resident was widely known than to unite the leadership of divergent elements in a city of some 275,000.⁵² After the public schools reopened, Tidewater Academy served only about 1 per cent of Norfolk's children in grades 7-12.⁵³

Front Royal made sensational news as the scene of the first school closing.⁵⁴ Donations for Mosby Academy came from segregationist well-wishers throughout Virginia and the South. The Virginia Education Fund provided \$16,000, and the local labor union provided between \$1600 and \$1700 per week by deducting \$1.00 per week from each member's wages.⁵⁵ The tremendous enthusiasm and community effort which built Mosby Academy, plus the reluctance to disrupt the schooling of children in mid-February combined to keep the whites in the private school through June of 1959. This was interpreted, understandably, as a white boycott of the public schools, and Warren County remained "a symbol of Southern resistance and

of nostalgic Confederate glory until children in substantial numbers duly returned to Warren County high school in September."⁵⁶

With the opening of the public school in Norfolk, Charlottesville, and Front Royal in 1959, the impracticability of the substitution of private schools generally or on a large scale was demonstrated to all but the most extreme advocates of complete segregation. The concept of private schools as a safety valve for public school desegregation, however, survived in Virginia and was to be embraced elsewhere in the South.⁵⁷

In communities other than Prince Edward County, segregationists accepted the fact that public education with at least token integration was unavoidable. Embracing the "freedom of choice" philosophy, they concentrated on strengthening the Foundation schools.⁵⁸ In the spring of 1960, the labor union's national headquarters stopped the use of union funds to support Mosby Academy; individual members, however, still continued to donate. Plans were made for a 22-classroom, \$250,000 building, and the academy was a growing concern.⁵⁹ Financing the academies through the "freedom of choice" plan was made possible primarily by a system of tuition grants enacted by the state. Under the plan, the state and local school districts jointly paid up to \$250 for each elementary and \$275 for each high school student whose parents elected to send the child to a non-sectarian private or non-local

public school rather than to the desegregated public school in the district.⁶⁰ When the tuition-grant plan was ruled unconstitutional in 1968, the academy in Front Royal closed.⁶¹ The school's glory as a bulwark of state rights and pride in the great civic zeal with which it had been established made Warren citizens reluctant to abandon the undertaking.⁶² Finally, however, the lack of financial support and the absence of a significant number of Blacks in the area proved to be the more influential factors. In an interview in May, 1973, in Blackstone, Virginia, William Gravatt, a leader of the Virginia Independent School Association, referred to Mosby Academy as an example of what happens to the private school founded only on "principle" without independent financial backing and the pressure of a large black population to keep it going. Indeed, the fate of Mosby Academy in a county where only 10 per cent of the total population was Black, underlines the point that the percentage of Blacks in an area has proved to be the greatest single factor determining the success or failure of the segregation academies.

Only Prince Edward County in Virginia remained faithful to massive resistance. The people in that county had resisted first; Prince Edward Academy stands today as the school for 99 per cent of the county's white children and the blatant reminder that resistance has not died there.

School litigation in Prince Edward began in 1951. On

the morning of April 23, 1951, some 450 students of R.R. Moton High School (Black) walked out on strike for the purpose of obtaining a new high school building.⁶³ Two days later the school's PTA voted to support the students' demands,⁶⁴ but "Oliver W. Hill, chief of the legal staff of the Virginia Conference of the NAACP announced publicly that a petition asking the end of segregation in public schools of Prince Edward County was to be filed with the county school board."⁶⁵ Within a month the school board had rejected the petition and the three-year litigation process which led to the Supreme Court's 1954 decision had begun. By that time the new Black high school had been built and was in operation.

The white citizens of Prince Edward County took action against desegregation efforts even before the state resistance laws were passed. The Supreme Court's implementing decree for the desegregation cases came on May 31, 1955, the last day under Virginia law for adoption of the county's annual budget. In response to white citizens' requests begun in April, the County Board of Supervisors voted unanimously to cut off all funds for the operation of county schools. On June 7, in a mass meeting, some 1500 white citizens from all over the county met in Jarman Hall of Longwood College and reached agreement on the following three-point program: "(1) to charter a non-profit corporation to be known as the Prince Edward Educational Corporation, (2) to raise by private subscription \$21,830, the

sum required to guarantee the 63 white teachers their 1955-56 salaries, and (3) to contract with the teachers for the forthcoming session."⁶⁶ Acting on assurance from the school board's legal advisers and the state attorney general, on July 30, 1955, the county supervisors voted to resume public school appropriations on a month-to-month basis. The private school organization retained its stand-by nucleus and the public schools opened on a segregated basis for 1955-56.⁶⁷

While schools were closed by the governor to avoid integration in other Virginia communities, Prince Edward schools remained open and segregated. When at last the desegregation court order came to Prince Edward in May, 1959, the state school closing laws had been invalidated and closed schools elsewhere had been reopened. The action of its own board of supervisors closed Prince Edward County's public schools, and even the state's provisions for tuition grants were rejected.⁶⁸

In the summer of 1959, following the county board's adoption of a school-less budget, the private school corporation prepared to open private schools for the county's white children. Unlike private schools in other areas at that time, they made no use of public funds. However, tax payers were expected to contribute the amount of their tax savings to the private schools. Some, of course, gave much more.⁶⁹ By the time schools opened in September about half of the budget of \$310,000 had been raised in cash.⁷⁰

The formal opening was staged September 10, 1959, in a motion picture theater in Farmville. Students heard speeches from Blanton Hanbury, Foundation president, and Roy Pearson, a retired oil company executive who had resigned as chairman of the county school board to become the private school's administrator.⁷¹ On September 14, classes began in two high schools and six grade schools in sixteen buildings scattered over the County. In rural areas classes met in churches. In Farmville, the county seat, business proprietors made mid-town space available for a science lab, home economics department, business education center and industrial arts shop. Private homes and churches in the town were also used. The 66 teachers and administrative personnel came almost entirely from the closed public schools and received the same salaries as they had before. A separate organization, Patrons, Inc., purchased 14 buses as surplus from other counties. Typewriters were rented, and supporters from throughout the state donated 10,000 volumes for a library. Enrollment for the first year totaled 1,475 out of a former white public school enrollment of 1,562.⁷²

In the fall of 1960, the county board of supervisors voted to allocate from county funds \$100 per pupil for use in private non-sectarian schools within Prince Edward County and in public schools outside the county and within the state. It also accepted the state scholarship grant of \$125 per pupil and added

a grant of \$35 per pupil for transportation in the case of children residing more than half a mile from their school. A further ordinance, authorized under new state legislation, provided for tax credit on real estate and personal property taxes up to 25 per cent of the taxpayer's bill for donations to the private school.⁷³

When the public schools were closed in Prince Edward County, over 1700 Black school age children were left without any school. Fifty juniors and seniors went to the high school division of Kittrell College, a Negro Methodist institution in North Carolina, with the help of scholarship from Kittrell and money raised by the Black Prince Edward County Christian Association. In December, 1959, a group of white citizens organized Southside Schools, Inc., for the purpose of helping Blacks set up private schools for their children. NAACP leaders, however, condemned this initiative, and only one Black child applied for enrollment. Negro leaders began making plans and raising funds to operate ten "training centers" to provide recreation programs and some instruction in reading and arithmetic.⁷⁴ During the 1960-61 school year about 600 Blacks attended these centers. Two hundred Blacks had left the county, and for the remaining 850 there were no schools.⁷⁵

In May 1961 Attorney General Robert Kennedy brought action in federal court to force Prince Edward County to reopen its public schools. There remained no schools for blacks, however,

until 1963 when private gifts, some inspired by Robert Kennedy, and efforts of many citizens outside the county supported a Free School Association in Prince Edward.⁷⁶ During the 1963-64 academic year, almost 1600 Black and six white children attended schools operated by that Association.⁷⁷ In May 1964 the Supreme Court ruled that the school children of the county were deprived of equal protection of the laws because they were treated differently from the school children of all other Virginia counties, and ordered the reopening of the public schools in Prince Edward.⁷⁸ Although the courts ruling forced the county to provide public education facilities, ten years later school segregation is still the norm in Prince Edward County.

In no other county in the South has the segregation academy so completely replaced the white public school for as long as it has in Prince Edward. According to one segregation leader, the only whites who don't go to the private school are "some children of kooks who make a big thing out of being integrated."⁷⁹ From the other side, the county's public high school principal commented that the white students who attend the public school are automatically social outcasts among their white peers.⁸⁰

Prince Edward Academy is still pledged to educate all whites in the county. Tuition per pupil per year is \$510 for elementary, \$570 for high school. Total enrollment in grades 1-12 is slightly over 1200, with a faculty of 71. Some students

pay no tuition; others pay half or 10 per cent -- depending on their financial abilities. Scholarship money is raised through contributions. Late in 1960, the Prince Edward School Foundation started construction of new buildings for an academy near Farmville. In the fall of 1961, classes opened in the new school. Every year or two thereafter a new classroom building was added. By May of 1973 the physical plant included 61 classrooms, a library, rooms for home economics and industrial arts, a new gymnasium and office facilities.⁸¹

Private schools continued to exist in Virginia along with the public schools, and more were built as schools were desegregated throughout the state. When Surry County public schools desegregated under court order in 1963, all the white children withdrew and enrolled in the new private school for whites. Only Blacks remained in the public school. At the same time Powhatan County schools also desegregated and a private school for whites was formed. In Powhatan, however, a group of white parents organized Citizens for Public Education with the purpose of encouraging white students to remain in public schools. The result was that the white students split almost evenly between the public and private schools.⁸²

The South's fight against the Supreme Court ruling had been defensive from the beginning. The late Senator Walter F. George of Georgia commented at the time of the Court's implementing decree, May 31, 1955: "The best we've been able

to do for the last thirty years is to defeat certain things. We can't do anything positive."⁸³ Yet, the resistance managed to define the terms under which the battle was fought so that tactics of delay prevailed. The trend in favor of nonpublic education increased throughout the South because local public school leaders as well as the state and national legislative and executive branches failed to devise good procedures for desegregating the public schools. The failure of a more broadly based educative and legislative leadership meant that courts drew up desegregation plans and that one small group, the NAACP, often determined when a given community would change its very important policy on school desegregation.⁸⁴

The failure of Southern political leadership and of Southern institutions generally to support a responsible alternative to the tactics of massive resistance was tragically demonstrated again in New Orleans, Louisiana, where desegregation began in the Deep South.

As early as February, 1956, Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel had prepared a pastoral letter to be read at all masses in the New Orleans archdiocese. Saying that "racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful," the letter called for immediate beginning of integration on a grade per year basis in the parochial schools. Shortly thereafter Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered the public schools of New Orleans to eliminate racial barriers with "all deliberate speed."

Instead of compliance, however, a long campaign of "vilification, harassment, and legislative hindrance" began.⁸⁵ Desegregation in parochial schools was postponed, and no plans were made for desegregating the public schools until Judge Wright decreed his own plan on May 16, 1960.⁸⁶

It is not the purpose of this paper to recount the already well-documented fiasco enacted by Louisiana's governor and state legislature and the resulting violence and school boycott in New Orleans in the fall of 1960. It is important, however, to examine the leaders of Louisiana's resistance forces at this time because of their later role in the state's segregation academy development.

Unlike Little Rock, New Orleans had moderate forces -- four-fifths of the school board and Mayor DeLesseps Morrison -- with federal support from the beginning ready to back Judge Wright's order. On the other hand, as in Virginia, moderates did not control the state legislature. Much of the conflict of interests in the 1960 New Orleans school desegregation issue reflected the cultural and political conflicts that have characterized all of Louisiana's history. The geographic divisions of the state have produced strong cultural and, therefore, political differences among its peoples. Anthony Lewis put it most succinctly:

Louisiana is separated into three divisions -- the largely French-Catholic bayou area in the southern part of the state; New Orleans, a melting

pot that is basically Catholic and highly cosmopolitan; and north Louisiana, the Protestant hill country, where life is rigorous and where prejudice against Negroes, Catholics and the easy-going Mardi Gras city has long been a way of life. Huey Long had built his kingdom on the envy, fear and distrust felt by north Louisiana's hillbillies and "rednecks" for New Orleans, and his obedient legislators had systematically stripped the carnival city of many of its powers to govern itself. After Long's assassination, and particularly after the end of World War II, New Orleans nevertheless surged forward as a major seaport, as an industrial center, as a tourist mecca, and as a city that seemed ready to act with moderation on racial issues. . . . Between 1955 and 1960, there was token desegregation of the professional schools of Louisiana State University in New Orleans, and New Orleans obeyed orders by Judge Wright to admit Negroes on equal terms to buses, parks and sports events. North Louisiana saw what was happening, as did the extremists within New Orleans, and were determined that it would not extend to the public schools.⁸⁷

The gubernatorial campaign of 1959 had been waged as northern vs. southern Louisiana, and segregationists vs. moderates. William Rainach of north Louisiana, an arch segregationist and influential Citizens' Council leader, contended with Jimmie H. Davis and New Orleans's Mayor DeLesseps Morrison. After placing third in the primary, Rainach swung his support to Davis to prevent the moderate and Roman Catholic Morrison from winning in the run-off. In so doing he forced Davis to take a strong segregationist stand on civil rights. During the heated, racist campaign Davis swore to go to jail if necessary to keep the schools segregated.⁸⁸ Ten years later, when Rainach was no longer active in the legislature,

he was carrying on the segregation tradition by helping to organize Claiborne Academy.

In addition to Senator Rainach and Governor Davis, the third and perhaps most powerful segregationist leader in the state was Leander H. Perez, then District Attorney of Plaquemines and St. Bernard parishes, a millionaire oil man, and a force in racist activities throughout the South.⁸⁹ Speaking at one Citizens' Council meeting, Perez denounced the NAACP and Zionist Jews for participating in the Communist plot to overthrow the United States through forcing desegregation. He warned: "Don't wait for your daughter to be raped by these Congolese. Don't wait until the burr-heads are forced into your schools. Do something about it now."⁹⁰

Perez gave up his job as District Attorney -- his son took his place -- to lead the legislature-encouraged boycott of the two New Orleans desegregated schools. He arranged for St. Bernard Parish to open its schools to 450 of the 1000 white students assigned to McDonough and Franz, and the state legislature donated funds for school buses.⁹¹

Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel announced plans for the integration of the parochial schools of the New Orleans archdiocese on March 27, 1962. On March 31, he sent letters of "paternal admonition" to a group of Catholics who had been outspoken foes of desegregation, warning against continuing their segregationist activities. Perez received the warning,

and on April 16 he was excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church.⁹² New Orleans parochial schools were desegregated September 4, 1962, with comparative calm. The Church, however, did not prevail in "the fief" of Leander Perez, Plaquemines Parish. Within two weeks after five Black children had enrolled in the white parochial school in Buras, all of the white students had been withdrawn. The school was closed for 1962-63. On August 27, 1963, just before the start of a new school year, it was destroyed by a bomb.⁹³ When the public schools of Plaquemines Parish were desegregated by court order in 1966, 250 white students enrolled in a private school hastily established in the vacated mansion of Leander Perez. Taking its unofficial name from the residence, it was known as The Promised Land High School.⁹⁴

Primarily because of the strong Catholic influence and the cosmopolitan nature of New Orleans, south Louisiana had long had a tradition of private education. These already established private and parochial schools experienced increased enrollments following desegregation in New Orleans. The state's tuition grants plan helped finance these schools as well as the few that were organized as a direct response to desegregation.⁹⁵ In 1963-64 grants to private schools in Louisiana totaled \$3,500,000. Despite the grants, however, some of the newly organized segregationist schools had financial difficulties. The largest one, Junior University of New Orleans,

closed in the spring of 1964.⁹⁶ In the early stages of school desegregation the established private schools in the New Orleans area formed enough alternative safety valves so that most of the hastily-organized segregation academies failed to receive the necessary financial backing to compete and survive. When public school desegregation finally came to other Deep South states, the segregation academies, often under the leadership of Citizens' Council members, offered the only "safety valve" for whites who fled the desegregated public schools. In March, 1959, Farley Smith, executive secretary of the Association of Citizens' Councils of South Carolina, launched a state wide survey to determine what facilities would be available to make the transition from public to private schools in that state.⁹⁷ No private schools founded for the purpose of maintaining segregation were established, however, until public schools in South Carolina desegregated four years later. School desegregation below the college level came to South Carolina in 1963 when public schools in Charleston were desegregated. In the next three years 28 private schools opened in the state.⁹⁸

Probably the most influential leader in South Carolina's private school movement was Dr. T. E. Wannamaker. Wade Hampton Academy /Wade Hampton fought the first reconstruction in South Carolina in 18767, where Wannamaker served as headmaster, opened its doors in the Northside Baptist Church of Orangeburg

to 291 students August 31, 1964.⁹⁹ Like countless other segregation academies, Wade Hampton took Prince Edward Academy as its model, and in turn became a model for other schools in its area.¹⁰⁰ Under Wannamaker's direction a number of the segregation academies in that state formed the South Carolina Independent School Association and, along with the Citizens' Councils, became the leaders of the segregation academy movement.¹⁰¹

As in South Carolina, Citizens' Council members in Montgomery County, Alabama, began investigating the possibilities of transferring from public to private schools to avoid integration as early as the spring of 1959,¹⁰² but no segregation academies appeared until the first public school desegregation occurred four years later.

One of the first Alabama schools to desegregate under court order was the public high school in Tuskegee, home of the well-known Black college, Tuskegee Institute. Macon Academy, the first segregation academy in Alabama and, therefore, a model for others in the state, opened in the fall of 1963 when Tuskegee High School was desegregated. Under the leadership of John Segrest and a group of parents of Macon County the academy opened with 128 students in grades 7-11. Classes met that semester in a two-story white frame house, which is now the Model Cities headquarters. That fall thirteen blacks were assigned to Tuskegee High and almost all

of the whites left to go to the other two white public high schools in the county. In the second term, however, the judge assigned half the Black students to one of these schools and half to the other. The Tuskegee white students then left both schools; enrollment in Macon Academy jumped to 300 and a senior class was added. Classes operated on two shifts, lasting from 7:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. In 1964 another home was acquired to house grades 1-6. In 1969 Macon Academy moved to its present site -- an all new, white cement and brown brick structure on 111 wooded acres outside the city limits of Tuskegee. The main building houses class rooms and offices. A gym, band room and lunch room are in a separate building in the rear. On the right is a football field, and tennis courts are in the front. Built to serve 625 students without crowding, the school now has 590 students in grades 1-12 who come from four neighboring counties and as far as 30 miles away. Very few whites remain in the public schools.¹⁰³

Elsewhere in Alabama, other segregation academies opened in 1965 in the counties of Greene, Marengo, Hale, Dallas, and Perry.¹⁰⁴ In Hayneville, the old plantation country of southern Alabama near Montgomery, Lowndes Academy opened with 265 students in 1966. Blacks outnumbered whites four to one, and after one year of token integration in 1965, large numbers of white students and faculty left the public schools. By 1970 Hayneville

High had no whites and Lowndes Academy had 335 white students with thirteen teachers in twelve grades.¹⁰⁵

In Mississippi in the two years following the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the issuance of federal desegregation orders to school boards in Biloxi, Carthage, Clarksdale, and Jackson in 1964,¹⁰⁶ the state issued 61 charters for new private schools. Also in 1964 the Mississippi state legislature authorized the payment of tuition grants of \$185 per child to parents who wished to send their children to approved nonsectarian private schools rather than to desegregated public ones.¹⁰⁷ It is not surprising that Edward Cates, an attorney for the Jackson Citizens' Council, assisted the legislature in the formulation of the tuition grants bill.¹⁰⁸ As public school desegregation became imminent in Mississippi in 1964, the initiators of organized resistance to school desegregation in 1954 continued to lead the state in the latest stage of resistance, the founding of segregation academies. The Citizens' Councils had fought for segregated public schools for ten years; when their resistance tactics failed on that front, they turned their talents to the private school movement. Although the Councils do not claim responsibility for all, or even the majority, of the private segregated schools in Mississippi, or in other Southern states, they have provided the leadership for organizing and maintaining many of the model segregation academies. As further developments will show,

Mississippi leads the Southern states in the numbers of known segregation academies. It is important, therefore, to examine the development of the Council Schools in Jackson, Mississippi, the first of which was planned and organized to be a model for the private school movement in Mississippi.

Having visited the first model, Prince Edward Academy, and consulted Roy Pearson, President of the Prince Edward School Foundation, the Jackson Citizens' Council appointed a School Committee on March 12, 1964. The committee obtained the services of Medford Evans (Ph.D., Yale) as educational consultant and of Edward Cates, attorney. On August 13, 1964, the committee made the following recommendations to the Jackson Citizens' Council board of directors: "(1) That the Citizens' Councils should assist all persons who wish to operate private, nonsectarian, segregated schools; and (2) That the Councils should initiate a pilot or demonstration operation for the Mississippi private school movement as a whole." To implement the first recommendation, the Council printed a manual entitled "How to Start a Private School" and published it in the September 1964 issue of The Citizen. The "pilot operation" eventually became Council School No. 1. The Council School Foundation was established and chartered and became the fully independent operating authority for the Council schools.¹⁰⁹

Council School No. 1 opened in October 1964 in the home

of Foundation President Dr. Charles Neill, a prominent Jackson neurosurgeon, with 22 pupils in six grades. Later in the year the school moved to the Old Fondren Place, an historic residence bought and remodeled for the school. Governor and Mrs. Ross Barnett held a bridge benefit in their home and raised \$500 for the school library. The first principal was John T. Griffin, "an experienced school administrator," and all four faculty members had masters degrees. The school was fully accredited by the state board of education in its first year of operation.¹¹⁰

In September 1965 Council School No. 1 enrolled 110 students in 12 grades. The following year the Council School Foundation operated three schools: Council School No. 1, grades 1-7; No. 2, grades 1-8; No. 3, grades 8-12. Total enrollment that year was 260, and a \$300,000 building program was underway.¹¹¹

The 1966 annual leadership conference of the Citizens' Councils of America met January 7-8 in Chatanooga, Tennessee. With the theme of "How Can We Educate Our Children?" the addresses focused on the need for and the development of private segregated schools to fight integration. Still, since the real impetus behind the formation of a specific segregation academy was the imminence of significant integration in the area's public schools, the segregation academy movement spread sporadically between 1964 and 1969.

The most significant growth in the movement came immediately after the Supreme Court changed "all deliberate speed" to "at once" in its ruling in Alexander v. Holmes Co. Board of Education October 22, 1969.¹¹² New private schools appeared in the Deep South in a few weeks time, and established schools grew dramatically as white students fled by the thousands from the public schools. The accelerated enrollment in the Jackson Council schools is an excellent example of the watershed nature of the Alexander decision in terms of school desegregation and the growth of segregation academies.

In the summer of 1966 Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Mitchell donated seventeen acres of "beautiful rolling land southwest of Jackson" for the site of Council School 2 McCluer. The Council School Foundation "acquired" 12 acres on Manhattan Road and purchased relocatable buildings from the Jackson Separate School District late that summer. Council School 3 Manhattan opened just three weeks after its initial planning. Although the state tuition grant program was rescinded by the federal courts, the Council schools continued to grow and their enrollment reached 500 in the 1968-69 school year.¹¹³

After the Alexander decision in the fall of 1969, enrollment jumped to 3000. To meet the need for increased classrooms Mansard units were used. Built of lumber and plywood, each unit contains some 1000 square feet of floor space, "readily divisible into two insulated, paneled, carpeted, air-conditioned,

permanent classrooms." At Council School 3 Manhattan 32 Mansard units were built in two months to accommodate 1,875 students and 75 teachers. During the summer of 1970 the Mansard buildings were utilized to add three new schools to the Council system. In 1970, enrollment passed 5000.¹¹

In the fall of 1969 and spring of 1970 new schools opened throughout the Deep South with astonishing speed. Basing their estimate on the state departments of education, HEW, news stories, and field contacts in the region, the Southern Regional Council estimated the following enrollment figures for numbers of students attending segregated schools -- including established nonsectarian private schools, segregated Catholic and other church related schools, and academies purposefully established to avoid public school desegregation -- in eleven southern states: October, 1969, prior to the Alexander decision: 300,000; fall 1969, after the Alexander decision: 400,000; 1970-71: 500,000; and 1971-72: 535,000.¹¹⁵ This estimate represents about 5 per cent of the white pupils in those 11 states.¹¹⁶ From 1969 to 1971 the numbers of new schools increased significantly. For the 1971-72 school years there were fewer new schools, but existing academies enlarged and increased enrollments.¹¹⁷

To this date no southwide survey of segregated academies has been made, but John Egerton, also writing for the Southern Regional Council, made this estimate in September, 1973:

The known existence of about 150 segregation academies in Mississippi, more than 100 in South Carolina, at least that many in Louisiana, Georgia, and Alabama, and 50 or more in Tennessee -- including 35 established in the past three years in Memphis alone -- makes it seem safe to estimate that at least 1,000 private schools have been opened in the eleven Southern states in the past decade to provide white students an avenue of escape from public school desegregation. Their combined enrollment probably totals between a quarter of a million and a half a million students.¹¹⁸

Egerton further stated: "By comparison, there are now about 20,000 public schools with approximately 11.5 million students in the same eleven states."¹¹⁹

Every private school administrator with whom I spoke stated that enrollment figures in his school had stabilized in the 1971-72 school year. Almost all the schools which I visited had been established immediately following specific court orders to desegregate public schools, and the majority had opened in response to the Alexander decision in 1969. While admitting that the impetus for the opening of each academy had been a drastic change in the racial balance between Blacks and whites in the area's public schools, the administrators often claimed that a concern for quality education would keep the schools operating and growing. Several headmasters concurred with Glenn Cain of Jackson, Mississippi, who predicted that the next spurt of growth in the private schools would come in about three or four years when the general public began to see the results of education

in the integrated public schools compared to that in the private schools.¹²⁰ The fact is, however, that it is difficult to separate their concern for quality education from their concern for racially segregated schools. The obvious importance of the ratio of Blacks to whites for determining the initial creation of a private school in a specific area was indicated quite clearly in the following comment by William Gravatt on May 24, 1973, about the future growth of segregation academies: "The only places starting private schools now are overwhelmed with blacks. You couldn't start one here [Blackstone, Virginia] now. People are more satisfied with integration now." The opening of new schools and the enrollment within those schools stabilized in the 1971-72 school year because the initial adjustment to change in racial balance in the schools had been made. Only areas which experienced a sudden change in racial balance in the public schools -- the necessary impetus --- showed any increase in the numbers of private schools after the 1971-72 school year.

The crucial court order effecting this came on April 20, 1971, in Charlotte-Mecklenburg v. Swann et al when the Supreme Court authorized the use of busing and even "a frank and sometimes drastic gerrymandering of school districts and attendance zones" to end school segregation.¹²¹ Although the Alexander decision had specified the elimination of dual

school systems, de facto segregation still existed in 1971 in many school districts, particularly in urban areas, in the South, as well as in the rest of the nation. The use of busing in some of the South's cities, particularly Richmond, Virginia, and Memphis, Tennessee, drastically changed the racial balance in the public schools and spurred the most recent growth of private schools.

In a study of the segregation academy movement by the Division of Legal Information and Community Service of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF), Richard Fields reported that "seventeen private schools and twenty-six 'education centers' have been opened for white students fleeing from desegregation in Memphis public schools. Ten of the schools and 16 of the 'centers' (temporary facilities hastily organized by an anti-busing organization) are sponsored by or housed in Southern Baptist churches."¹²²

Local church support for the segregation schools has been widespread throughout the South. In the same LDF report another reporter noted that 20 Baptist churches operated segregation academies in South Carolina. Another found that about a dozen of Louisiana's segregation academies were Southern Baptist enterprises, and that Catholic, Methodist, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Seventh Day Adventist also operated segregated schools.¹²³ The 35 new private schools in Memphis were all Southern Baptist supported. The following details come from Fields'

report:

The most important private school development in the last few months has been the announcement of the formation of two new private school systems. . . sponsored by consortia of Southern Baptist churches.

Briarcrest Baptist Schools will consist of 12 satellite elementary schools at Baptist churches in the city feeding into a new \$4 million high school complex to be located in East Memphis When the new structure is completed, the system will serve 3,000 students.

Frayser Baptist Schools, Inc., is a group of 13 Southern Baptist churches in the Frayser area that will provide six educational buildings for a new school system. The 12,000 members of these churches will have first priority to send their children to these schools. . . . Estimated enrollment for 1973-74 is 650 to 700.

Southern Baptist Schools of Whitehaven, Inc., a corporation involving 10 churches, has purchased 36 acres of land in Memphis to build an elementary-secondary complex for 700 students. The organization has already received a separate¹²⁴ tax exemption from the Internal Revenue Service.

The example of the Catholic Church's action against segregationist leaders in Louisiana (p. 27 above) can not be found in the southern protestant churches. The New York Times (August 19, 1973) reported that the 12-million member Southern Baptist Convention (as opposed to independent Baptist churches over the South) had adopted a statement about private schools in 1970 which said in part, "Some private church-related schools are being formed simply as a strategy to avoid racial integration." It only warned, however, that churches might lose tax exemption this way! A spokesman for the convention told the Times that in the matter of what individual churches do in such schools, it would hold to the tradition

of local autonomy.¹²⁵

The history of the segregation academy movement demonstrates that the success of the new private schools was determined not only by the racial composition of the community involved and the strength of local resistance groups, but also by the failure of local, state, and national leaders in the legislative and executive branches to resist the resisters. This failure resulted in the academies' receiving indirect aid from the federal government in the form of Internal Revenue Service tax exemptions for donations to the schools. As with the earlier forms of state aid, the tuition grants, court actions designed to prevent the use of state or federal funds to support segregated education have come too late to effectively retard the development of the movement.

In spite of a ruling of the Internal Revenue Service in July 1970, which revoked the tax exempt status of private schools continuing to practice discrimination, I found schools in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Virginia with tax exempt status for donations and no intention of admitting Black students. Although leaders in the academy movement protested that the federal government was out to get them, and an editorial by David Lawrence in U.S. News & World Report denounced the ruling as "simply an effort to punish Southerners for trying to find a better system of education for their children than they feel will be offered in the public schools,"¹²⁶

actually the IRS did little to enforce its ruling. By accepting "good faith" statements from the schools themselves as to whether they discriminated and assuming voluntary compliance on the part of southern segregationists, Kitty Terjen, author of numerous articles on the segregation academies, rightly asserted, the IRS is "defeating its own stated policy" and "ignoring reality."¹²⁷ On December 20, 1971, the Supreme Court upheld a lower court ruling, Green v. Kennedy, in which Black parents in Mississippi brought suit to force the IRS to cancel the tax exemption of all-white academies. The lower court ruling on June 30 had ordered the IRS to determine that the school did not in fact discriminate on racial grounds. After the Supreme Court's ruling, the revenue agency announced that 33 exemptions had been revoked in Mississippi, 21 in South Carolina, 11 each in Florida and Alabama, five in North Carolina, three in Georgia and two in Tennessee.¹²⁸ However, Kitty Terjen claimed that in 1972 except for member schools in Mississippi most of the 396 schools in the Southern Independent School Association were tax exempt.¹²⁹ At least two of the Louisiana schools I visited, and even the famed Prince Edward Academy, still had their tax exempt status in 1973. (For an example of one Virginia school's response to the IRS ruling, see Appendix A.) Furthermore, as Terjen noted elsewhere, even if the tax exempt status were revoked, it would not affect the gifts and

contributions made before the revocation. Therefore, many schools would have received aid in the critical stage of building buildings and getting started. Once established, it is not so hard to keep going without tax exempt status.¹³⁰

The latest court action involving the segregation academies came on July 30, 1973, when Judge Albert V. Bryan, Jr., a district judge in Alexandria, Virginia, ruled in the case of McCrary v. Runyon that private schools cannot deny admission to Blacks because of their race. The ruling stemmed from a suit filed by Mr. and Mrs. Curtis McCrary of Falls Church, Virginia, and Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Gonzales of Dale City, Virginia, protesting discriminatory admission practices by Bobbe's School in Arlington and Fairfax Brewster School in Fairfax County.¹³¹ Judge Bryan ordered the schools to pay the plaintiffs compensatory damages totalling \$7,500 and to cease discriminating against prospective students who are non-white.¹³² The Southern Independent School Association intervened formally on the side of the defendants. As the following remarks by W. J. Simmons, the president of SISA, indicate, however, the ruling can be expected to have very little, if any, immediate effect on the status of presently segregated private schools:

I do not think the ruling will affect enrollment in SISA schools. Publicity attending the decision has certainly not affected enrollment in Council Schools adversely.

I do not know of any applications by black

for admission to any private schools. There may, and probably will be, a few prompted by the NAACP for harassment purposes. I think the SISA schools will be able to maintain their educational standards for the immediate future, and the ruling will not affect the policies and goals of SISA at this point.

We are appealing the decision, as indicated, and we have hopes it will be reversed. . . .If we win on appeal, then we continue as usual until the next court case challenging the right of private schools to exist. If we do not win the appeal, matters will not stop with Judge Bryan's ruling, for he will have handed the blacks and others willing to use it a key with which they can unlock every private door in the nation. In that unfortunate event, SISA's woes will be small indeed compared with those of private clubs, banks, and all other institutions based upon the privacy of contract. SISA's appeal, therefore, has a broad significance that I think is vital to the very texture of American society and transcends the seemingly limited issue of the selective admissions policies of a few "segregation academies."¹³³

Even if the decision is eventually sustained by the Supreme Court, it is doubtful that Black students in significant numbers would try to -- or even want to -- enroll in the segregation academies.¹³⁴ Furthermore, even if the color of their skins did not keep them out, limited financial resources would. Founded in a spirit of resistance reflected in Simmon's letter, the southern segregation academies now have the social and financial support to continue. As John Egerton perceptively remarked:

The ironic phenomenon of a substantial and apparently permanent private school movement existing in the South while more conventional forms of private education languish elsewhere attests to the determination of many thousands

of white Southerners to keep segregation at any cost.¹³⁵

Without the organizational efforts of groups like the Citizens' Councils, there probably would never have been a massive resistance movement of the strength and longevity to thwart the effects of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision for 15 years. Likewise, a major part of the strength of the academy movement has come as these independent schools have organized into associations on the state and regional levels. At least as early as 1965, segregation academy leaders in South Carolina organized themselves to form the South Carolina Independent School Association.¹³⁶ Schools in other southern states formed similar organizations as the number of new private schools increased. A brief history of the associations in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana indicates the similarities in their developments.

In the winter of 1966, representatives from nine academies met in Montgomery to organize the Alabama Private School Association and elected John Ames of Perry Christian Academy as their first president.¹³⁷ For the first three years the Association's primary function was to coordinate athletic activities among its members. By the spring of 1970, (reflecting the impact of the Alexander decision) headmasters and classroom teachers organized to work with executive officials to establish accreditation standards. On June 1, 1971, the APSA hired its first Executive Secretary, Max Howell. By September of

1971 the APSA had grown to 60 members; during that academic year the board of directors hired Dr. Wilda Pickett as Academic Coordinator and Ed Jones as Athletic Coordinator. For the 1972-73 school year the Association offered in-service training programs for faculty and staff, continued evaluation for its membership, and expanded sport competition. In an interview March 20, 1973, Max Howell gave the enrollment in APSA school as 23,000, an estimated 3 per cent of Alabama's school children, and predicted a growth to 30,000 in the next five years.

The Mississippi Private School Association was organized in February 1968 with representatives of the Council School Foundation among the charter members. Mr. W. J. Simmons has served as Secretary from its beginning.¹³⁸ In June 1970 the Association hired Glenn Cain as Executive Secretary. According to Cain, there are two groups of private schools in the MPSA: those organized around 1965 and those organized around 1969. Of the 110 Mississippi members in the Association in 1972, he estimated that 35 to 40 per cent were organized in 1965. The MPSA geographic boundaries extend from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, to the Alabama line and from Jackson, Tennessee, to the Gulf Coast. In May 1972 the non-Mississippi membership included five schools in Tennessee and seven from Arkansas, with two pending from Tennessee and four from Arkansas. Total pupil enrollment was 46,000 in Mississippi and over 50,000 in all the Association's schools, with over

2500 teachers and administrators. From its office in Jackson, the MPSA offers its members service in the following areas: general communications, an educational association for teachers and administrators, an activities (primarily athletics) commission, a teacher placement bureau, a student council organization, and a scholastic honor society.¹³⁹

In Louisiana between 40 and 50 new private schools were organized between 1968 and 1970, primarily in the northern and central parts of the state. Leaders from 20 of these schools established the Louisiana Independent School Association April 26, 1970. Charles Frank Lea, superintendent of Valley Forge Academy in Amite, was one of the first board members, and Leander Perez's schools in Plaquemines Parish -- Delta Heritage, Promised Land, and River Oaks -- were also charter members.¹⁴⁰ Those three schools, however, never became active members, and most of the leadership for LISA has come from areas north of Baton Rouge. Although not on the board of directors, William Rainach helped in the initial stages of organization.¹⁴¹ Paul Newell, attorney in Haynesville and one of the founders of Claiborne Academy, was elected president in 1970 and again in 1971. Dr. Donald Roberts, a chemistry professor at Louisiana Polytechnic University in Ruston, succeeded him in 1972. By the 1972-73 school year, LISA membership had grown to 56 schools with 20,000 students. In May 1972 the board of directors hired Rex Pearce as LISA

Executive Secretary. Like its sister states' associations, LISA sponsors for its members an accreditation program, an athletic association, an honor society, literary rally, principals' association, and student council association.¹⁴²

The direct effect of the creation of central offices and the hiring of an executive secretary in terms of the Association's growth in potential influence throughout Louisiana was implied by Sam Barthe, owner and director of Sam Barthe School for Boys, when he said, "I wouldn't join the Athletics Association of the Independent Schools until Rex Pearce was hired, so he could coordinate things." Sam Barthe is on LISA's board of directors, but his school in Metairie, a suburb of New Orleans, was started over 30 years ago. Although the curriculum is traditional college prep with accelerated classes, Sam Barthe is primarily a coach and his first love was athletics. With a tuition of \$1000 per year, an enrollment of 750 limited almost entirely to the sons of alumni, and three gyms, Sam Barthe School is in an entirely different class from the other LISA schools. "I stuck \$2 million on the line when I went to LISA," he boasted. Sam Barthe School represents the traditional exclusive private school, respected for years for academic excellence and for turning out graduates for professional schools and universities, and which, like the less respected academies, perpetuates racism in the name of quality education. All in

the same breath, as it were, Sam Barthe said, "I've been fighting to take the race question out of Independent Schools. I've run a segregated school for 33 years. They're white people out here. I want nice people in my school. We're trying to sell quality education."¹⁴³

By 1970 leaders from the various state associations began to discuss the formation of a regional association. The first organizational meeting was held in Atlanta in July, 1970.

Dr. T. E. Wannamaker of Orangeburg, South Carolina, was elected chairman of the meeting and subsequently president of the association. The original name was Independent Private School Organization, but the name was changed to Southern Independent School Association by amendment to the charter at the Association's second meeting in Atlanta in June, 1971.¹⁴⁴

At that same meeting representatives from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia elected W. J. Simmons to be the first president of SISA. At that time the Association claimed to represent 396 schools and 176,000 pupils. Annual membership dues for SISA were listed as \$25 per school. A report on its meeting in Atlanta in December, 1971, gave the following breakdown in membership according to states: "Alabama, 65 schools, 22,000 pupils; Georgia, 56 schools, 20,000; Louisiana, 50 schools, 23,000; Mississippi, 92 schools, 50,000; and Virginia, 47 schools, 11,000."¹⁴⁵ Like its member state associations,

SISA was formed "to promote the independent school movement on a broad scope and for the mutual benefit" of its members.¹⁴⁶ It coordinates such interscholastic activities as sports and honor societies for the academies on a regional basis. Efforts are also being made to set up uniform standards for accreditation by SISA. One of the more active committees of SISA is the textbook committee, which is primarily concerned with acquiring social studies textbooks which preserve the Southern heritage.¹⁴⁷

As an association of associations, SISA is a rather loose knit organization. Both the president and vice-president of the organization spoke to me of the need for more cohesiveness on the regional level. W. J. Simmons attributed the weakness of the Association to its lack of a central clearing house and the fact that no one person works only for SISA.¹⁴⁸ Focusing on a somewhat different aspect, William Gravatt attributed SISA's lack of effectiveness to the diverse political needs of each state represented.¹⁴⁹

Two of the Louisiana representatives to SISA, Donald Roberts and Paul Newell, felt that the members of SISA share common educational goals and interests in "conserving our middle class white society."¹⁵⁰ Simmons, however, noted some differences when he said of the South Carolina Independent School Association, " . . . the orientation seems to be a little bit more on the exclusive side than serving the

mass public need as most schools do in the Deep South and as they do in Virginia (particularly Prince Edward County)."

In a similar vein he commented on Georgia's academies:

Schools there seem to be more controlled by school people than by laymen -- a right important difference. They are oriented more towards pure academics and things that interest teachers. They don't have quite the same motivation as in other southern states. But that is changing. Lately, with massive busing orders in Atlanta we have received requests in Jackson for information about organizing schools on a crash program.¹⁵¹

Whatever the differences between schools from state to state or from town to town, all share a fundamental desire to preserve racially segregated education.

The history of the segregation academy movement reveals more than a dramatic increase in the numbers of private schools throughout the South. The development of state and regional organizations indicates both an actual and a potential strengthening of the segregationist philosophy. Donald Roberts, president of LISA, spoke directly to this effect:

We've been operating for two years. Once I thought we would become more flexible. What's happening in the Independent Schools is that we're becoming less flexible vis a vis our racial policy. It's hardened and it's getting harder. I know in terms of the sentiment of the people. I think perhaps it's tied into the feelings of sacrifice they're making, and it's developing into a real hard position.

By harder I mean the idea of maintaining a close knit association among the Independent Schools within the philosophical framework that we had formulated. There's been a firming up. That's not surprising, is it. Take any new

religious activity; when it starts out, it sort of flaps around trying to formulate its thinking, rules, codes, etc. What's happened is that we have formulated ours and now there's a strong adherence to what we've formulated.¹⁵²

Later in the same interview, speaking of having the segregationist label pinned on him because of associating with Citizens' Council leader William Rainach, Roberts spoke further about LISA and SISA's influence in strengthening the segregationist philosophy:

We had some schools come in that didn't have quite as strong a segregationist feeling. We had to reeducate them. If that's the objective of people controlling LISA, they've been imminently successful. We have one school in the Shreveport area -- Southfield -- that wants to get into LISA because it wants to play sports badly. They are all white -- a snob school -- but they don't want to have to subscribe to our philosophy. I would predict that in less than a year they will break; they will join.

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What SISA is doing now is forcing these people to admit what they believe. They're saying you can no longer have the luxury of operating an all-white school and still pretend that you're not all white. We feel this is the best possible policy because otherwise we don't have a leg to stand on. We've got to start defending our position -- why we operate this way. We have to start educating our children because they're going to go off to college and be asked why did you go to an all-white school. They'd better have an answer."¹⁵³

A survey of the history of the segregation academy movement reveals the continued influence of the defensive voices of the South's massive resistance to racial desegregation. Although the academies enroll at most only 5 per cent

of the South's school age population, the academy in a given Southern community may enroll from 50 to 100 per cent of the white school age population. In such a place the defensive segregationist sentiment becomes again the prevailing, dominating spirit of the white community. The "feelings of sacrifice," mentioned by Roberts, continue to make it difficult for people involved in the academy movement to see that, in fact, they don't "have a leg to stand on." Because the segregationist philosophy is still couched in the traditional rhetoric of such phrases as "preserving our Southern heritage," and, more recently, "a concern for quality education," and "parents' desire for the best for their children," the segregation academy is able to perpetuate the tragic Southern error of glorifying racism in the name of devotion to homeland and family.

Because these neobourbons of the 1970's continue to exercise considerable social and political influence, it is important not to overlook their "hardening" of the segregationist philosophy. Nowhere are both the "hardening" effect and the rhetorical phrases more evident than in the varied expressions of the philosophy, goals, and ideals which emerged in my interviews with some of those people who are most intimately involved in the segregation academy movement in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Virginia.

Chapter II

Footnotes

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⁵⁷Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance, p. 114.

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- ⁵⁹Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance, p. 158.
- ⁶⁰Goodman, Sanctuaries for Tradition, p. 2.
- ⁶¹The ruling in Poindexter v. Louisiana Financial Assistance Commission, rendered by a federal court in 1966 and upheld by the Supreme Court in 1968, dealt with efforts to establish segregated white private schools with public support by means of tuition grants or vouchers. In that ruling the court held that "any amount of state support to help found segregated schools or to help maintain such schools is sufficient to give standing to Negro school children," under the Fourteenth Amendment. Otto F. Kraushaar, American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns in Diversity (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. 236. See also Norman Dorsen, "Racial Discrimination in 'Private' Schools," in Erickson, ed., Public Control for Nonpublic Schools, p. 142.
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- ⁷⁵"Segregation: Very Deliberate Speed," Newsweek, May 8, 1961, p. 25.
- ⁷⁶Lewis, Portrait of a Decade, p. 300. An excellent

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⁸⁷Lewis, Portrait of a Decade, p. 156.

⁸⁸Lewis, Portrait of a Decade, pp. 157-158.

⁸⁹Lewis, Portrait of a Decade, p. 158.

⁹⁰New Orleans Times Picayune, November 16, 1960, as cited in Lewis, Portrait of a Decade, p. 162, and Peltason, Fifty-Eight Lonely Men, p. 240.

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- ¹⁰³Interview with R. C. Edwards, headmaster of Macon Academy, Tuskegee, Alabama, March 21, 1973. A Newsweek article on school desegregation in Tuskegee, Alabama (September 16, 1963, p. 26) reported that Governor Wallace sent his own state troopers to shut down the schools against the local citizens' wishes for the first week of that fall term. His actions may have aided the opening of Macon Academy.
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- ¹⁰⁵Cleghorn, "The Old South Tries Again," p. 77.
- ¹⁰⁶McMillen, The Citizens' Council, p. 299.
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- 133 W. J. Simmons, Jackson, Mississippi, to author, August 9, 1973.
- 134 Egerton, "Segregation Academies," p. 7.
- 135 Egerton, "Segregation Academies," p. 7.
- 136 Wannamaker, "Private Schools," p. 37.
- 137 At the first organizational meeting the following schools were represented: Lyman Ward (one of the oldest in the state); Macon Academy, 1963; Lowndes Academy, 1965; Catherine Academy, 1966; Dixie, 1966; and Union, which was to open in 1967. All of the information on the APSA is from my interview with Max Howell in Montgomery, Alabama, March 20, 1973.
- 138 Welcome to Council Schools, pp. 10 & 22.
- 139 Interview with Glenn Cain, Jackson, Mississippi, May 26, 1972.
- 140 Interview with Rex Pearce, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, August 7, 1973.
- 141 Interview with William Rainach, Homer, Louisiana, December 21, 1972.
- 142 Interview with Rex Pearce, August 7, 1973.
- 143 Interview with Sam Barthe, Metairie, Louisiana, January 10, 1973.
- 144 W. J. Simmons, Jackson, Mississippi, to author, January 4, 1974.
- 145 "Southern Independent Schools Association Represents 176,000," The Citizen, December, 1971, pp. 18 & 29.
- 146 Paul Newell, in Claiborne Academy's newspaper, The Rebel Yell, November, 1971.
- 147 Interview with Donald Roberts, Ruston, Louisiana,

August 1, 1973. Dr. Roberts, a research chemist, was then in the process of writing an eighth-grade United States history textbook for use by the SISA schools.

148 Interview with W. J. Simmons, March 19, 1973.

149 Interview with W. M. Gravatt, Jr., Blackstone, Virginia, May 24, 1973.

150 Interview with Donald Roberts, Ruston, Louisiana, May 24, 1972.

151 Interview with W. J. Simmons, March 19, 1973.

152 Interview with Donald Roberts, May 24, 1972.

153 Interview with Donald Roberts, May 24, 1972.

They want their children to be raised and educated free from the tensions of racial conflict in the classroom, free from the frustrating drag of mass mediocrity, and free from the blight of self-styled progressive educators whose avowed aim is to turn young Americans from the established inheritance of their fathers to alien theories of collectivism and anti-white racism.

W. J. Simmons
The Citizen, February, 1966

Chapter III

Personalities and Philosophies

As stated in Chapter I, I felt that the primary source of information about the segregation academies should be the people who were actually involved in organizing and maintaining the schools. Therefore, I began my research in May of 1972 by interviewing the principal of Claiborne Academy and then the President and the Secretary of the Louisiana Independent School Association and the Executive Secretary of the Mississippi Private School Association. In December, 1972, and January, 1973, I visited six other schools in Louisiana. In March, 1973, I visited eight schools in Mississippi and seven in Alabama and interviewed the President and the Information Director of the Southern Independent School Association in Jackson, Mississippi, and the Executive Secretary of the Alabama Private School Association. Also in March, 1973, I attended the state student council meetings for LISA and MPSA. The conventions were especially useful for talking with students because during my other school visits I talked mainly with principals and only occasionally with teachers and students. Two months later I interviewed the Vice-President of the Virginia Independent School Association, the administrator of Prince Edward Academy in Farmville,

Virginia, and the principal of Kenston Forest School in Blackstone, Virginia. Finally, in August, 1973, I concluded my formal research by interviewing the Executive Secretary of the Louisiana Independent School Association.

Both in informal conversations and in more formal interviews I tried to discover the individual attitudes and personal philosophies, as well as school policies and goals, and the circumstances which led to the support of the segregation academy movement. Generally speaking, in both schools and administrative offices, I was cordially received and often invited to return. I found that most of the people whom I interviewed were quite proud of their schools and, therefore, very willing to talk about the beliefs and circumstances which surrounded their beginnings.

The first leader in the movement whom I interviewed was Paul Newell, an attorney in Haynesville, Louisiana. Newell was one of the founders of Claiborne Academy, had served as chairman of its board of directors, and had enrolled his three children there. In early 1970 he was chairman of the organizational committee of the Louisiana Independent School Association and served as its president for two years. Also in 1970, as a representative of LISA, Newell helped to organize and establish the Southern Independent School Association. Newell had grown up in New Orleans, graduated from Tulane University

Law School and practiced law with an oil and gas firm in that city until May of 1956 when he moved to Haynesville to open his own offices. He was active in the state and parish bar associations, the Lions Club, and American Legion, and served as elder in the Presbyterian Church in Haynesville.¹ In our conversations he said he disliked connecting the term "racist" with the private school movement. Preferring to describe himself as a "conservative," he said that he had once been a liberal on the race issue, but experience and reading had changed his mind:

At one time I felt there would be considerable merit in integrating the races educationally. As a matter of fact, I started helping Blacks long before Bobby Kennedy and the rest of them did. We had an out post Sunday school in the slums of New Orleans. Our youth group would go out every Wednesday night to play games with them and have Sunday school. My orientation was the other way. Innately I hate to think there is a difference in people. My tendency is to say I wish everybody were as capable as one another. This is the ideal. But I have come to the conclusion, intelligently so, that this is not the case. Not the case among₂ whites, and definitely not the case among Blacks.

From my interview with Newell I learned the names of other leaders in SISA, the first of whom was Newell's successor as President of LISA, Dr. Donald D. Roberts. A native of North Dakota, educated at the University of Chicago, Roberts came to Ruston, Louisiana, in 1962 as professor of chemistry at Louisiana Polytechnic University. He had tried unsuccessfully to organize a private school in Ruston before massive integration came to the public

schools. In the summer of 1969, however, when the Alexander decision was imminent, Roberts became an influential spokesman for organizing private segregated schools throughout North Louisiana. The following year he helped to organize LISA and served as its first secretary. Among the leaders in LISA, Roberts saw himself as "the trained one, the research scholar, the university professor," and, therefore, the dominant individual in setting up that organization's written policy and philosophy. He himself made no claim that his policy statements were followed, "or even understood," by individuals who administered, taught in, and controlled the various independent schools. He did feel, however, a great need to educate leaders in the private schools to his way of thinking; he felt they were rather ignorant of the educational philosophy which the independent schools should represent. Although he saw himself as "an outsider" because he was not born in the South, he spoke more about the importance of upholding the Southern tradition than any of the other persons with whom I talked. Like Newell, he described his position as that of a conservative and felt that the segregated private schools were trying to "conserve a culture."³

One of his most striking characteristics was his elitism. He claimed that to the average person going to one of the private schools, a Black person was "some sort of advanced

animal." By contrast he said, "I didn't grow up with 'em, so I don't have an opinion one way or the other. I just have a strong bias towards my own culture, and I think it's worth conserving." Evidently, Roberts' sense of "culture" excluded not only Black Americans but also certain classes of white Americans, for he said:

Our problem is not colored students. Our problem is lower class whites. What do we do with them? You don't say, "lower class whites," but you know, their conduct, code of behavior, language, this and that creates a problem. Lower class white culture tends to be less couth, and we consider couthness desirable. This gets to be a problem -- what influence they are going to have in our schools.⁴

Although Rex Pearce did not express his ideas in Roberts' elitist terms, as Executive Secretary of LISA, he shared much of Roberts' general philosophy. As State Supervisor of Secondary Education from 1968 to 1972, Pearce had worked with LISA leaders on matters of state approval for LISA schools. Before that he had worked for the state department of education as Supervisor of Health and Physical Education and, for a short time, as Supervisor of Social Studies. He maintained that from his office in Baton Rouge his primary intent was "to upgrade athletic and academic programs" in the LISA schools. He said that he did not wish to speak for all the different schools regarding a general philosophy, but he did agree with Roberts' idea that the schools are preserving a culture:

This is what I'm seeing more by the day. These people fit into a certain cultural pattern, have certain problems, have certain needs, and wish their children to get a certain type of education: more of the old, traditional type of education -- heritage, God and country, etc. That's what they're actually gearing their schools toward.⁵

Another one of the original directors of LISA was Grover Saunders, a drug salesman from Shreveport, Louisiana. One of the founders and president of the board of Friendship Academy for three years, Saunders worked primarily to develop accreditation standards for LISA schools. He said that he had become interested in starting a private school because his two daughters would have been bused to formerly all Black schools for which "they were not prepared emotionally." Although the initial reasons for starting the school were emotional, he felt that people were "now getting away from the racial question and focussing on matters of quality education."⁶

Some of LISA's board members were also principals of private schools. Sam Barthe, owner and administrator of Sam Barthe School for Boys in Metairie, Louisiana, was secretary of the board. Unlike any other leader in LISA, Sam Barthe had been in the private school business for over 30 years. Nothing about his school could be called typical of the segregation academies as a whole, except his attitude on race. When I walked into his office for the interview, he called his director of academic affairs

on the intercom and said, "Mr. Clark, the little girl from Arizona is here, and everything is all right." As he himself admitted later, the "everything is all right" meant, of course, that I was white.⁷

With one exception, the principals of the private schools in Louisiana which I visited had come to their new positions from several years of experience in the state's public schools. The exception was Stephen H. Hammons, principal of Cedar Creek School, Ruston, Louisiana. He had taught in private schools in New Orleans for eight years, and was principal of Mid-City Baptist School in New Orleans for four years before coming to Cedar Creek. While admitting that the Independent School movement as a whole had been associated with the integration question, Hammons felt that there had been a shift in emphasis from avoiding integration to an interest in a better education. "Every school had to learn," he said, "that people won't pay very long just to avoid integration, but they will pay for quality education."⁸

Cecil C. Ross, principal of Glenbrook School in Minden, Louisiana, had been a supervisor for grades one through eight in Webster Parish schools. He had been interested in starting a private school as early as 1963 because he thought that communication skills had never been taught properly in public schools. Unlike most of the principals

with whom I spoke, Ross spent a great deal of time talking about the problems he had with students who were not interested or whose parents were not as concerned as he would have liked them to be in education.⁹

Like several other young headmasters I met, John Hurley of Ridgedale Academy in West Monroe, had left a coaching and teaching position in a public school because he had become discouraged with lowering of standards after the school was integrated.¹⁰ On the same day I interviewed Hurley, I also talked with the vice-president of Ridgedale Academy's board of directors, Charlie Drennon, who operated a drug store not far from the school. A former president of the Quachita Parish School Board, Drennon still drove a school bus for the Quachita Parish Schools because, he said, "they pay me \$300 a month to do it." Even though all the children on the bus were white, he said, "I wouldn't have you, as a lady, or my daughter ride that bus because of the four-letter words." He agreed with Hurley that the problems in the public schools were not the results of integration per se, but of a lack of discipline and of too much experimentation.¹¹

J. R. Kilgore had been a high school math teacher and then principal of Haynesville Elementary School in Haynesville, Louisiana, before becoming principal of Claiborne Academy in 1970. He felt that the public schools

had deteriorated since 1965 because the threat of integration had made people uncertain of the future.¹² An avowed member of the John Birch Society, Kilgore warned students of the threats of socialism and one-worldism, which would come if they forgot that our country was a republic and not a democracy. In a speech to the LISA Student Council Convention, March 13, 1973, he said that the Equal Rights Amendment was an example of "the way government is infringing on your rights and responsibilities and making you a slave."¹³

T. H. Waters had been a teacher for seven years and principal for eight years at Hammond High School in Hammond, Louisiana, before becoming Commissioner of the Athletic Association for Louisiana public schools for eighteen years. He had been retired one year when he was elected to the board of directors for Southwood Academy in Hammond in 1970. Two years later he became principal, partly, he said, to heal the split among the parents and board members regarding rumors that Southwood would be integrated. The school did have an official open admissions policy, but, according to Waters, because of a strong segregationist element no Blacks had been admitted. He said that he was not a segregationist, was concerned only with quality education, and could foresee the day when Blacks would be admitted to the school "after the community had come to

accept Blacks more."¹⁴

In Mississippi, however, nowhere did I find any person in a private school with even the faintest idea of eventually admitting Blacks to their school. As indicated in Chapter II, the most powerful organization behind the segregation academy movement was the Citizens' Councils, which had originated in Mississippi. W. J. Simmons, the President of SISA, was also one of the original Council leaders and the president and treasurer of the board of directors of the Council School Foundation in Jackson, Mississippi. Reese Cleghorn named Simmons and four other men (Leander H. Perez, Sr., Roy Harris, Robert Shelton, and Lester Maddox) as the leaders of the "Segregation Establishment" in an article entitled "The SEGS," which appeared in the January, 1964, issue of Esquire. In the article Simmons gave the following explanation of the origins of integrationist thinking which had resulted in the move to desegregate the public schools:

I attribute it to a wave of equalitarian philosophy that started in the early part of the twentieth century, primarily with the progressive educationists, such as John Dewey. In time it seemed to permeate the educational field. Dewey and others -- Franz Boas among the anthropologists -- turned out a number of disciples at Columbia who went into the teaching profession, and this influence grew to a remarkable degree. I think it resulted directly in the Supreme Court school-integration decision. And I think that, although it's predominant now,

there's beginning to be a reaction. I think it's going to be reversed.¹⁵

I found the remarks significant because they were representative of an anti-progressive bias that repeated specifically in my interview with Donald Roberts and rephrased in interviews with several other private school leaders and principals.

In my interview with Simmons, he indicated that he did not like the tone of the Esquire article and called it "a real hatchet job." However, I found nothing in it that seemed out of character with his remarks to me on the specifically segregation-related issue of the private school movement. Simmons was a rather soft spoken gentleman. Probably he preferred to see himself as the librarian of Council School Manhattan did. Her eyes filled with tears as she told me of his generosity and kindness and of his "mortgaging everything he owned" for the Council schools.

While waiting to see Simmons, I also talked with George Shannon, whose office was also in the Deposit Guaranty Bank Building with the Council School Foundation. After resigning as editor of The Shreveport Journal in April, 1971, Shannon had moved to Jackson, Mississippi, to work for the Citizens' Councils as editor of The Citizen, information officer for SISA, and director of the Council School Foundation. Naturally, he, too, had a great deal

of praise for Simmons' role in the private school movement.

Speaking of Simmons, he said:

If we had the leadership in every major city in the South and in the country like we have right here in Jackson, in so far as foreseeing what the trouble was and preparing for it, then you'd have untold millions of children in private schools today.¹⁶

Reflecting upon the importance of resisting integration, Shannon told of the role The Shreveport Journal had played in opposing school desegregation. His remarks revealed once again the clear link between the resistance movement of the '50's and '60's and the segregation academies.

In Shreveport we put up a strong fight against integration. People asked, "What have you accomplished? You know it's inevitable." Our argument is that it isn't inevitable. Nothing is inevitable. But even if it is inevitable, that's no argument not to resist. Death is inevitable, but we're going to fight death. Taxes are inevitable, but we're going to fight taxes, especially unjust taxes. So we resisted very strongly and the result was that anyone entering the first grade in 1957 -- when Little Rock was forceably integrated -- had time to go all the way through high school and graduate before the first Negro was put into a school in Shreveport. The first integration occurred in Shreveport in 1969. Then The Journal appealed for toleration. We had tried every legal means. Now the only alternative was to accept it or form private schools.¹⁷

The heaviest segregation rhetoric came from the Council School people. Glenn Cain, Executive Secretary of the Mississippi Private School Association, preferred to say:

People came to us [private schools] because they felt it was a better climate in which to get an education and because they preferred to go to school

with those they chose to go to school with. And they're doing a good job of education. One thing for sure, they must think it's what they want or they wouldn't pay for it.¹⁸

Before coming to work for MPSA, Cain had coached in the Jackson public schools, taught at Delta State College for seven years, and been headmaster at Indianola Academy from 1966 to 1970.¹⁹

When I visited Indianola Academy, I talked with James N. Lear, who had been on the board of directors of Ludlow Textiles for 15 years before becoming the Academy's administrator. Of all the school leaders whom I visited, Lear was the only one who would not allow me to tape the interview. He said that the school had had too much negative publicity from the national press. Most of our conversation took place as Lear showed me through the school buildings and grounds. As we entered the high school lunch room, a Black woman came through and Lear greeted her: "Hi, Charity." He talked generally of the school's college prep curriculum and of the added emphasis on improving students' vocabulary and reading skills. "We're in the business of educating children," he said, "and I hope we can continue to do it."²⁰

All of the principals in Mississippi whom I interviewed had begun teaching in the public schools, and had had varying degrees of experience in the private schools. Tom Spight, Principal of Leland Academy, had been superintendent of the

public schools in Leland, Mississippi, where the population was over 50 per cent Black, for four years before the Academy opened in 1969. He felt that "the politicians should turn the schools back over to school people," that lawyers and judges could not judge what was best for a local situation.²¹

Matthew Turner in Louisville, Mississippi, had been athletic director in the Louisville public schools for eleven years. He had been looking for an administrative position when he took the position as headmaster of Winston Academy.²² In Greenwood, Mississippi, I talked with Raymond Morgan, the junior-high principal of Pillow Academy, whose previous experience included teaching two and a half years in a public school and one year in a private school.²³

My last interview in Mississippi was with J. D. Withers, a veteran of the private school movement in that state. Withers had begun his teaching career in 1965 as a science teacher in a public school in Woodville, Mississippi. After the school was integrated in October of 1966, he and O. B. Pendergrass (who was then principal at Centreville and is now superintendent of the Council Schools in Jackson) tried unsuccessfully to start a private school. In the fall of 1967, Pendergrass moved to Council School No. 2 as principal, and Withers went with him as science teacher and assistant principal. At that time the school had only

160 students from mostly rural backgrounds. After the Jackson City Schools were integrated, the school grew to 1700, and Withers found that he was not as happy with urban students. Also he missed the opportunity for personal contact with students in a school that large. In April of 1972 he went to the Foundation's central office as supervisor of instruction to try to standardize the Council school system. Then in June of 1972 he accepted a job as principal of Rebul Academy in Learned, a rural community outside of Jackson, because, as he said, the salary was higher; the school, smaller; and he liked the county students.²⁴

In Alabama I talked first with Max Howell, the Executive Secretary of the Alabama Private School Association, in Montgomery. From a background in public school teaching and coaching in Prattville, Alabama, Ozark, Alabama, and Panama City, Florida (1962-65), and as coach and instructor at Troy State University (1966-70), Max Howell helped organize and served as headmaster for South Montgomery Academy (1970-71), while also organizing the Headmaster's Association and assisting in reorganizing the APSA "with an emphasis on academics." In addition to his work with the APSA, Howell served on the Alabama Commission on Higher Education, on the Citizens Advisory Board on

State and Local Government, and the Youth Advisory Council for the State of Alabama. I found Howell refreshingly open and willing to talk about his work, saying quite frankly that he was "interested in presenting the facts to the public so all can see what the private schools are doing." He said that he did not share the Citizens' Councils' philosophy and that he was neither a segregationist nor an isolationist. He felt that the schools had been in trouble before integration, but that integration had forced the public's attention on the problems. His main concern was with textbooks, which he felt were "watered down." As an example, he said, "If you order a textbook for the average class from Harper and Row, you will be sent one three grades lower." Although he said nothing about wanting to present the conservative or Southern viewpoint, he did say, "I want people to know all the facts; then let them choose. I grew up thinking FDR was one of our greatest Presidents. I want people to know he was nearly a socialist. I want them to know the ways he went about making changes." Several academy principals expressed Howell's belief that the private schools could not last on the basis of segregation alone, but he seemed to be more genuinely concerned with education apart from segregation. Along with textbook reform, Howell was also working on establishing accreditation criteria for the

APSA. The Alabama plan differed from that of Louisiana and Mississippi in that the evaluating teams were composed of university and college professors rather than personnel from other private schools in the APSA.²⁵

As in Mississippi and Louisiana, I found that the principals in Alabama private schools where I visited had come from a variety of experiences in education. Lamar Crawley in Opelika, Alabama, had taught 11 years in public schools in Atlanta before being asked to come to Scott Preparatory School to implement its special curriculum, which will be discussed later in this chapter.²⁶ The headmaster of Macon Academy in Tuskegee, R. C. Edwards, had been a public school band director.²⁷ Ben Kirk, principal of Lee Academy in Auburn, had taught physics and chemistry for 21 years in a public school in Moltree, Georgia.²⁸ Aubry B. Elam was a public school teacher for six years and principal for three, in addition to being a minister, before he became the principal and economics teacher at Cahawba Christian School in Centreville, Alabama. While admitting that many parents sent their children to his school to avoid integration, Elam said that his main concern was to teach Christian values.²⁹

Several of the headmasters had been coaches or athletic directors prior to taking their new positions in the private schools. A former coach at Tuscaloosa High

High School, Buddy Sumner said that he took the position of principal at West End Christian Academy in Tuscaloosa because he "wanted to get into administration."³⁰

The principal of Central Alabama Academy in Montgomery was another former coach. After seven and one-half years of coaching and teaching physical education he had come to the academy in February of 1973 because, he said, he would have lost all reason for working if he had stayed with the public school. H. J. Nick felt that discipline was the key to having a good learning atmosphere, and that public school administrators were "handcuffed" by the federal government's "nit-picking rules and regulations."³¹

Bob McCool had been an assistant principal and coach at Bessemer High School before becoming headmaster of Pickens Academy in Carrollton, and he continued to direct athletics at the academy. McCool insisted that he was "not against Blacks" -- indeed, he said, "I've taught 'em, coached 'em, been raised with 'em." His primary concern was to insure a good education for his child. Explaining his feelings about Blacks and education, he made the following remarks:

The Black man got himself into his own position because he was not organized and not selective in his choice of leaders. I don't know who's to blame, but I think the overall low moral standard -- for example, five or six illegitimate children -- has created non-acceptance on the part of white people. Blacks were freed in 1861, but they didn't realize

it until 1964. With Martin Luther King -- 1961 to 1964 -- was the first time they really banded together and spoke out. I know they couldn't vote, but I can't understand why it took 100 years. Can't blame whites entirely. I'm not against them, but the majority aren't ready to teach my child.³²

In Virginia I talked first with W. M. Gravatt, Jr., Vice-President of the Virginia Independent School Association and President of the Board of Directors of Kenston Forest School in Blackstone, Virginia. He was a practicing attorney and at one time had been President of the Virginia Public School Board of Trustees before he became involved in the private schools. Of his work with the private schools he said, "Nothing more important have I done in my lifetime." He admitted, however, that his attitudes were changing. At one time, when the schools were first integrated, he had been one to say, close the public schools entirely. Now, he said, he felt there was a place for both. "We may be moving toward world brotherhood," he mused, "but we have to learn to walk before we can run."³³

The principal of Kenston Forest School was Don Keaton, who said he had left seven years of public school teaching to accept his present position because he wanted the best for his children.³⁴ Both Keaton and Gravatt talked freely about their experiences in the private school and encouraged me to talk with the teachers and students of Kenston Forest. The day I was there was a Friday, and they were making

plans for a horse show to be held the following day, an annual event that would raise \$5000 for the school. I was also invited to come back for that event.

At Prince Edward Academy I talked with the administrator, Robert Redd, who had come from a position of principal of Worshim County High School to organize and direct the opening of the Academy in 1959. Perhaps because of the national renown of Prince Edward Academy, and the experience of having hundreds of visitors to the school, I found Redd less eager to discuss his school and his ideas about its purpose than some of the principals of younger schools. His comments were direct and brief: "This school came into being because we love our children and want the best education in a controlled environment. We think we can get it in a controlled environment."³⁵

In the process of meeting the people who directed and administered the schools, I also had the opportunity to see some of the school buildings, to find out their average cost and size and how they were financed.

Emphasizing the independent spirit and wide variety of private schools in Mississippi, Glenn Cain insisted that "When you've seen one, you've seen only one."³⁶ Cain's comment contained a great deal of truth. The schools did vary in size and quality, depending on their

age and location. A few still inhabited formerly public school buildings, the classrooms of churches, or remodeled former residences. Although some had moved from earlier, less prestigious beginnings (one in a bowling alley), all of the schools which I visited occupied new buildings of brick, cement blocks and aluminum siding, or pre-fab materials, as in Butler buildings. Some had carpeted libraries and air-conditioned classrooms. Their costs ranged from \$250,000 to \$1,500,000, with the average being perhaps \$500,000. Likewise, enrollment figures varied from 50 (usually elementary grades only) to over 1000, while tuition ranged from \$350 to \$1,000 per pupil per year. Among the schools I visited, the average enrollment was approximately 500 in twelve grades with an average tuition of \$550. Almost all of the schools financed their initial building costs through donations and a required membership fee or other form of assessment from each family; this ranged from \$250 to \$1,000. Most schools had discount tuition plans for families with two or more children, as illustrated by the following newspaper advertisement for Claiborne Academy in Homer, Louisiana:

You can still educate more than three children at one time in Claiborne Academy for LESS THAN the usual monthly car note (\$100.00).³⁷

Claiborne Academy also claimed to be educating the children of "Middle America."³⁸ Most of the students in

the academies I visited came from middle and upper-middle class families. I asked one principal in Louisiana if he thought the cost of his school's tuition (\$55 per month for one child and \$110 for three or more) restricted the enrollment to children of at least middle class, and probably upper middle class parents. He replied:

No, I don't think so. Well, I suppose you're right. There would probably be a few that couldn't afford it. I think that anyone that wanted it could. With the economic conditions we have in the parish now, very few are deprived. Tuition is not that high. Most people can do what they really want to.³⁹

The board members of most of the schools were predominantly male and from the upper middle class: doctors, lawyers, business men. A few, however, included men from the working class and women who worked as secretaries or were the wives of professionals.

As I visited segregation academies throughout Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Virginia and talked with their principals, teachers and students, I wanted to discover their attitudes about their schools and their beliefs and feelings about what they themselves were doing in the schools. Their own words expressed common themes of dissatisfaction with the public schools, ideas about excellence or quality in education, feelings of concern for their children, opinions about differences between Blacks and whites; but the degree of emphasis on each theme varied from person to person.

For example, George Shannon, speaking for the Council Schools in Jackson, Mississippi, said simply: "We are selling segregated education. We think it's hypocrisy on the part of those who say, 'We're not opposed to integration; we just don't want our children bused.'"⁴⁰ While no one with whom I spoke denied that the impetus for starting the private schools had come from the federal push to integrate the public schools, in some way or other, all expressed the sentiments of William Rainach who, commenting on the opening of private schools in Claiborne Parish, said:

I think people would be able to accept integration if it didn't mean the lowering of academic and moral standards. But they know it means it; therefore, they resort to private schools. It's more complex than the statement that we do things because the colored want in.⁴¹

The belief that Blacks and whites can not be educated effectively together was rarely seen as a simple issue by the segregationist. Preferring to use the more "scientific" arguments of Professors Henry E. Garrett and Arthur R. Jensen, which propose that there are certain racially determined learning capacities, Paul Newell described the rationale behind the private segregated school in the following words:

Our primary interest is educating people basically of like learning capacities. We can adopt a school system to meet their needs. We cannot adopt a school system to meet the needs of maybe Indians, Blacks, or any other group that might be endemic in a particular area where you are starting a

school. Our suggestion is that if these people want a school directed at their learning capacities, then someone else needs to start that school.⁴²

Whatever the reasons for justifying the segregation of the races educationally, Newell insisted that the "historic importance" of the new private schools was to be found in their emphasis on quality education. His reasoning on this issue emerged in the following remarks:

The real historic importance of the movement is not one of segregation or integration. It's academically important. Middle America by and large was not academically oriented. Lawyers, doctors, professionals who were more exposed to the cultural benefits of education were academically oriented, but these people were not. Many of them fled to private schools because of violence in public schools rather than because they were academically oriented and wanted their child to have a superior education. A large percentage fell into this category. But when these parents start paying in effect the equivalent of a monthly car note to educate a child, then they become interested in what the child's learning and what the child should learn to justify the monthly check. They can act emotionally for a while -- saying I don't want my child to go to school with Blacks -- but pretty soon the economic reality of what they're doing hits them. So they ask is it really worth it. Particularly when Johnny comes home with F's and D's when in public school he had been making B's and C's and an occasional F. Then they go to the teacher and say, I don't want to pay for this kind of education. Then they become academically oriented. They recognize that their child was not getting what other esteemed people's children were getting, and they want to know why.

What I'm saying is that the really historical significance of what's happening is that in the South in particular I feel we're going to regenerate an interest in things of culture and education that in the South of old only prestigious people, more affluent people enjoyed -- and nation-wide over only affluent people enjoyed. I think we're

building up a base that in the next ten years is going to evidence itself in the southern colleges being as strong academically as some of the northern colleges. Our state universities will be stronger, or else these kids will be going somewhere else. But these kids will be competing with their peers from the public school in college. There's going to be a marked difference. It has to be; it's already there. The effect is that the neighbor next door will say, if you want your child to get an education, you better think twice about getting another car. You better send that child to an academy.

Of course, the alternative to that is a radical change in the public school philosophy, which I don't foresee in any time in the near future. We see temporary respite here and there, but for the overall long range we see continuing politicization, federalization of public school systems. We're just hoping we can hang out our linens long enough to where public opinion will recognize that we do have a genuine function to perform, and perhaps the federal government will permit us to exist as segregated schools. The long range trend, then, does not become segregation, nor integration. The long range trend will be quality education.⁴³

Whether or not Newell's predictions about an increased concern for quality education will prove true in the future, the experience of Glenbrook School in Minden, Louisiana, indicated that that concern alone, without the stimulus of public school integration, was not enough motivation for most parents to send their children to a private school. When I talked with the principal of Glenbrook, Cecil Ross, in January, 1973, he said that he and six others had begun discussing the idea of a private school some ten years before because they were "dissatisfied with the program in the Webster Parish Schools," and "wanted children going to college to have a better back-

ground, in communication skills particularly." Glenbrook School opened with twelve grades in a completely new, brick, air-conditioned building in the fall of 1971. Its major problem was a lack of students. Built to accomodate 300 students, the enrollment in 1973 was only 173. Although the racial composition of the Webster Parish school population was 60 per cent white to 40 per cent Black, the public schools were still basically segregated. The formerly all-white Minden High School had only 70 Blacks in a student body of 700. At the time of my interview a court suit was pending which was expected to order further school integration. In the mean time, Ross admitted that, "If the racial situation stabilized and people knew there wouldn't be any changes, we'd lose some /from Glenbrook School17."44

Most of the school administrators with whom I spoke preferred to emphasize their concern for quality education rather than more explicitly racial issues. The following comments of John Hurley, principal of Ridgedale Academy in West Monroe, Louisiana, indicate a rather typical assortment of the common themes -- quality education, problems in public school, racial prejudices, and concern for their children -- and their interrelatedness in the minds of segregation academy leaders.

We started out three years ago with the idea

of building a school strictly for quality education. We thought students were not getting quality education in the public schools. . . . We spend most of our money on the inside of the schools, on good textbooks and good teachers.

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Eighty-five per cent of the students are sent out here for quality education. No flag-raising, hooping and hollering. We run on a business-like basis, strictly for education. If not, we won't stay in business. Got to produce.

Our people -- doctors, lawyers, in industry, intelligent -- work with colored all the time. They're not sending kids down here just because a few colored are in school down the road.

I myself was raised in a rural town where I hauled hay, played baseball with the colored. Today, back home, there are some colored gentlemen and families; if something happened to them, I'd be the first to chip in and help them out. This is not the thing. The thing is the force used behind it. I know lots of whites I wouldn't want to associate with. It's the force. You've got to send your child to a certain school, got to have a certain ratio of students, of faculty. This is what lots of people don't like.

I have lots of friends who are teachers, coaches, principals in West Monroe. To a certain extent their hands are tied -- no discipline, can't paddle a student. It's not that they don't have good teachers in public schools; I was coaching and teaching in the public schools with them. But the last year I was in the public school I taught first period. I was conscientious, tried to prepare myself to teach that first hour. The second hour they'd go down to Mrs. Jones's class and may play dominoes or may talk about what they were going to do that night or that week end. All I was doing the first period was being torn down the rest of the day. You've got to enjoy your work, see growth, see where you're accomplishing something or doing good. Lots of teachers are getting out after 20 years as a result of this. It's not so much that they don't like the colored. It's the problems involved and just what has happened in education in the past ten years.

Q: Have changes been brought about primarily because of integration?

A: Well, students as a whole have changed. Society in general has changed. Morals have changed. . . . Respect for education isn't what it should be. . . . Discipline is not being carried out in the home. We're all tied up in a faster changing world. Go, go, go, stress and strain. Parents leave for a weekend, give kids money. Left on their own, with a car, they get into all kinds of trouble. Changing society. What the answer is I don't know.

I feel that as a whole in schools right now children are being used as an experiment, being experimented on with ratios and figures. That's another reason for private schools. You can't have anything more valuable than your children. Fights and trouble in public schools, lots of parents are afraid to send their children. I think public schools are doing a good job under the circumstances.⁴⁵

The educators' meaning of quality education often emerged in their discussion of school goals and policies. The following list of educational objectives adopted by the Louisiana Independent School Association reflected the educational philosophy also expressed in different forms by schools in the Alabama Private School Association and in the Council Schools in Mississippi (see Appendixes B, C, and D).

The purpose of a school is to provide adequate learning facilities and an appropriate learning atmosphere for a student to become a truly civilized human being. The general purpose is accomplished by the following educational objectives:

1. Understanding and appreciation of our social heritage.
2. Growth in understanding of, and in readiness to assume the responsibilities inherent in our American society.
3. Understanding and appreciation of our free enterprise system of economics and the complementary work-ethic value system.
4. Growth in understanding and practice of patriotism.
5. Formulation and practice by the student of

- moral, spiritual, and ethical values which will serve as guides to responsible conduct in personal, family, and community living.
6. Development of an appreciation of aesthetic values.
 7. Acquisition of a strong body of knowledge, both factual and conceptual.
 8. Maturation of intellectual abilities and processes, including critical thinking and correct reasoning.
 9. Development of the ability to communicate orally and in writing.
 10. Acquisition of good physical, mental, and emotional health.⁴⁶

I found further evidence of educational philosophy in discussions of the content of textbooks. Although most of the principals with whom I spoke said that their school's textbooks were chosen from those recommended by their state's department of education, several members of the Southern Independent School Association expressed disapproval of the current textbooks and a desire to produce others, particularly in the area of social studies, in order "to more factually represent the American picture and to give a more true reflection of the Western European and American tradition."⁴⁷ The following comments indicate some of the leaders' attitudes about what the Independent Schools' educational philosophy should be.

Current textbooks project an unrealistic image. These books depict a homogenized, egalitarian society not consistent with the background of our students. Our pupils come from homes where individualism and fixed moral values are stressed. We need to devise text books projecting an image consistent with our national and Southern interests.⁴⁸

I don't want George Washington depicted as a bigoted slaveowner. I want them to know the truth, not a bunch of propaganda; and if the truth be against us, let that be, too.⁴⁹

Our concern is not that blacks are in the pictures, but for factual information. Many are starting to emphasize America as the aggressor in all areas, which I think is a little bit ridiculous. They are getting away from the free enterprise system and getting more socialistic. Teachers in the Independent schools are saying, "Where can I get a textbook that teaches something along the basis that we were taught and believe -- not propaganda -- but conserving free enterprise and strict interpretation of the constitution."⁵⁰

In keeping with the emphasis on conserving free enterprise and a strict interpretation of the constitution, Donald Roberts also emphasized the importance of preserving the Southern heritage, which he described as:

A tradition where gallantry, honor and duty to one's God, country and family are revered. A tradition based on selective association as most consistent with human nature and most productive of civil and domestic good will. And, most importantly, a tradition . . . where a student is taught to take pride in being a Southerner.⁵¹

Most of the teachers with whom I spoke agreed with the sentiments expressed by the administrators. On the faculties in schools where I visited there were a few noncertified volunteers, some retired public school teachers, and some recent college graduates; but the majority of teachers had come directly from public school teaching, like their students, because of integration. Those who had left the public schools said they had done

so because of lowered standards and intolerable teaching situations. They felt that the private schools were offering a better education and catered to a higher caliber of students and parents. One teacher said she had to work harder in the private school because she was under constant observation from parents and the principal; however, she felt the students were getting a much better preparation for college than they had received in the public schools. She said that students coming to her from the public schools were always behind their peers in the academy.⁵²

While the teachers' salaries varied from place to place, they were generally lower than those in the public schools. I found one exception in Starkville, Mississippi, where the music instructor of Starkville Academy said he had left his public school position because he couldn't teach the kind of music he wanted in an integrated school and because he was getting paid more at the Academy.⁵³ Contrary to the usual claim by administrators that their teachers were willing to teach for less because of better teaching conditions in the private schools, one English teacher said that although he liked the students in the academy, he would take a job in the public schools as soon as he completed requirements for a state teaching certificate because he could make \$3000 more per year teaching in the public schools.⁵⁴

I spoke with another English teacher at Kenston Forest School in Blackstone, Virginia. Although she was happy with the academic atmosphere and high caliber of students and parents where she was teaching and certain that she would not teach in the area's public schools because of violence and drug problems with the students there, she was one of the few teachers with whom I spoke who admitted any conflicting feelings about teaching in a racially segregated school. "To a small extent the school is based on prejudice," she said; "but the administration and teachers are not prejudiced and most of the parents send their children to this school because they want them to have a better education. The school does not allow the use of the word 'nigger.' Prejudice tends to show up more in the comments of the lower class students and in the poorer academic students." In her American literature classes she included the writings of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X and said that debates in class "often get back to race." Finally, however, she admitted feeling an inner sense of conflict about teaching American ideals (she referred particularly to the writings of Thoreau and Emerson) in a segregated school.⁵⁵

That teacher was an exception in many ways. A native of New Jersey, she was teaching in Blackstone while her husband finished law school in Richmond. Her principal

asked her to talk with me because he knew that she had had doubts about teaching in a private segregated school when she came, and he thought she would show me how their academic excellence and lack of open racial prejudice had "won her over," so to speak, to the Southern way of thinking.⁵⁶

Opportunities for talking with students were few when I visited the individual schools, but I was able to attend the state Student Council Conventions for LISA and MPSA, where I met student representatives from at least 25 schools in Mississippi and Louisiana. As with the teachers, most of the students echoed the opinions of the administrators concerning the purpose and philosophy of their schools. Without exception, they said they were attending the private school because their parents did not want them in integrated schools. A typical explanation came from a student from Franklin Academy, Winnsboro, Louisiana, who said: "Niggers are dumb, can't learn; and when you have a majority of low standard in a school, they will pull all the rest down. It's not really a race issue, just a matter of lowering standards." Another student from Franklin Academy said that during his last year in the public school, the ninth grade, he had taught his Louisiana history class because "the Negro teacher was too dumb to teach it."⁵⁷

The students were very proud of their new schools and often commented on the close relationship between faculty

and students and the great spirit of cooperation and sacrifice shown by parents and friends who donated their time and labor to the school. Without exception the students felt they were getting a much better education in the academy than they would be getting if they were attending the public school. In spite of a desire for a good education, however, one student from Jackson, Mississippi, expressed concern over attending a racially segregated school, saying:

I often wish I were in a public school because I feel I'm copping out by going to a private school. I know that I'm not going to Jackson Prep to get away from the race problem, but because I want to get a good college prep education so that I can go to Vanderbilt. Still, it's hard to know what to do.⁵⁸

Mary from Jackson Prep was thinking and questioning in entirely different areas from most of the students with whom I talked. As I sat in on some of their student council workshops, their discussions focused on problems of strict dress codes and ideas for fund-raising events. One group discussed the relationship between public and private schools regarding attendance at dances or other school functions. The advice of one student from Hammond, Louisiana, indicated how extremely well these students in the segregated academies have learned -- in the best Southern tradition -- not to deal with the problems of race:

Everyone is prejudiced, but you shouldn't

be allowed to show your prejudice. You can avoid having outsiders at dances by not selling door tickets. Avoid saying "No Colored". Instead, let any guest of a private school student come. When the academy sponsors something, no colored come because they know its not their place.⁵⁹

One administrator said that he would not judge a school until he had spent at least six months in the school. Speaking of the public school in his town, he said: "They have good conscientious people on the board, a good principal and superintendent, pretty good per capita expenditure; therefore, I assume they have a good school system."⁶⁰ I would agree with his implications that I should not, indeed could not, judge the quality of education of his school until I had really spent time in the school. Therefore, I will attempt only to describe the curricula of the schools which I visited in the general terms in which the school principals described them to me.

At least 50 per cent described themselves as college preparatory, offering advanced courses in English, math, and science as well as a general academic curriculum, and sending from 85 to 95 per cent of their graduates to college. All the schools offered a basically academic, as opposed to vocational, curriculum, although many also had the usual business courses and often home economics for girls. Likewise, all claimed to send at least 50 per cent, and usually more, of their graduates to some form

of post-high school education. Most schools offered courses in at least one foreign language, and sometimes as many as three or four. Many principals emphasized the importance of developing language skills early in a child's education, and one principal said that he made a point of visiting every elementary class frequently to listen to the students read.⁶¹ The availability of classes in music and art depended often on the interest and demand of students in a given school. A few schools offered courses in Bible, while others confined their religious instruction to Bible study or devotionals in homerooms before school each day.

Two schools which I visited -- Cedar Creek in Ruston, Louisiana, and Scott Preparatory in Opelika, Alabama -- offered exceptions to the general rule of a traditional academic curriculum. Although both schools opened after the 1969 desegregation ruling and both attracted students whose parents were fleeing the integrated public schools, the administrators of both schools were interested in offering more than a duplication of the formerly all-white public school's curriculum. Both Scott Prep and Cedar Creek were located near state universities, and, therefore, had easier access to a more diverse group of potential teachers than did other schools in small Southern towns. Likewise, although all the private schools I visited drew

students from primarily middle and upper-middle class families, 75 per cent of the students at Scott Prep and at least 60 per cent at Cedar Creek were the children of professionals.

Cedar Creek School operated an open-space classroom for its elementary grades and emphasized flexibility and individualized instruction in all grades. At the time of my visit in December, 1972, the faculty had begun their self-evaluation for the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and were interested in examining other schools' curricula -- public and private -- in order to improve their own.

In accordance with an avowed educational philosophy concerned primarily with the development of the individual student (see Appendix E), Scott Prep used "continuous progress" programs in the elementary grades, which meant that a student could take any course as soon as he was ready for it. Classes in grades 7-12 were non-graded. During one quarter two ninth-graders, one tenth-grader, and one eleventh-grader attended Auburn University for their calculus class. While students studied from the most recent textbooks, they also learned from each other in a cross-tutorial approach, patterned after the old one-room school house method, in which older students helped the younger ones with their lessons. The emphasis

was definitely on academics and the parents saw the school as primarily college preparatory. In an effort to meet a wide range of student ability, however, Scott Prep offered four different programs and four corresponding diplomas:

1. terminal - for students who were definitely not going to college
2. general - required 4 units of English, 3 of social studies, 1 of math, 1 of science, 4 of P. E.
3. college prep - required 4 units of English, 3 of social studies, 3 of math, 3 of science, 4 of P. E.
4. distinction - required 4 units in each major subject, 2 electives, and a B average⁶³

While neither school actively recruited Black students, both had official open admission policies and, therefore, tax exempt status. The principal of Cedar Creek said that in keeping with their open admissions policy the school board had actively recruited Black students when the school first opened but had found none interested. Since that time the school had experienced some racial conflict (rocks thrown at buses) while in sports competition with public schools, and the school board had decided to join the Louisiana Independent School Association to avoid further racial trouble. Regarding the admissions of Blacks in the future, the principal said only, "If it came up we'd have to look at it from our basic philosophy of open admissions, which hasn't changed."⁶⁴ The principal of Scott Prep said that HEW had investigated their open admission policy and had not withdrawn their tax exempt status. He expressed

the school's philosophy on admissions with these words:

If Blacks apply, they will probably be admitted. Some parents will leave, but the board thinks it's no big thing. We don't recruit. We're here and if you want what we offer, you come.⁶⁵

While the admissions policies of these two school could not be described as exercising affirmative action with regard to race, they were definitely more open than those of most schools which I visited, in which the concern for quality education could never really be separated from the race issue. In answer to the question, "Would your school admit a qualified Black student?" most principals said that it would be up to the board to decide. Although one principal said that if a Black applied there would be no legal way to keep him out, most principals seemed to concur with Grover Saunders of Friendship Academy, Shreveport, Louisiana, who said that if a Black were admitted, "the great majority of parents would pull out rather than stay, regardless of standards."⁶⁶

Are the segregation academies providing quality education for their students? After a detailed study of a representative number of academies in Alabama in 1970, Allen D. Cleveland concluded that the answer is yes and no. "Some of the schools measure up favorably by almost any educational yardstick," Cleveland said, "while others are woefully lacking."⁶⁷ The findings of my research support Cleveland's conclusion. Regardless of the standards used to measure

the quality of education in the segregation academies, at this point results can only be tentative. There is still wide diversity among the academies, and the majority have not been operating long enough to claim their graduates as completely their own products. If the average ACT scores are higher in the private schools than they are in the public schools of the same area,⁶⁸ one can only acknowledge the presence of factors which the academy leaders themselves attribute to their advantage over the public schools: a higher level of pupil selectivity, resulting in a greater percentage of students who from early childhood are more highly motivated to achieve in the traditional academic terms, which the ACT measures.

Although most of the schools I visited used the results of achievement tests and average ACT scores to show that their students ranked above those in the public schools, very few used qualifying tests as part of their admission procedure. In light of their adherence to the belief in the importance of IQ ratings and ACT scores for comparing whites and Black students, I found rather ironic their insistence on the value of "individualized" instruction and their willingness to take almost any white student at whatever level he happened to be. Grover Saunders expressed this sentiment quite well in the following remarks about his school's admission policy:

We don't test the child. We feel that this would conflict with our reason for being here. We want to educate the child. If the child has poor learning habits, if we can help that child, that's why we're here. We're here out of sympathy for the child and to educate them.⁶⁹

That "sympathy," of course, did not extend to the Black child.

The importance of religion in the segregation academy movement cannot be underestimated. According to Donald Roberts:

Religion is an integral part of the Independent School movement because it's an integral part of the South -- this Baptist concept that there is nothing we do without prayer. Through any activity we have there's prayer, and we always have a preacher who asks God's blessing on what we're doing and is convinced that God is shining His light upon our activities. . . . Our people -- supporters of the Independent Schools -- are convinced that God is behind us. That I am sure of, we are doing God's work.

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This is something somebody outside the South can't understand. If you don't include that aspect you're missing a good part of the motivation behind this movement. People believe full heartedly that God doesn't want us to mix.⁷⁰

Roberts compared the development of the private schools to that of a religious movement. Speaking of the strong rapport among SISA leaders, he said: "We're developing a pseudo-parochial system where there's a fixed religion we feel we want."⁷¹ Part of that "fixed religion" consisted of the belief in the importance of conserving Southern tradition and culture, free enterprise, and, of course,

racial segregation. Supporting, perhaps even intensifying, those social beliefs, however, was a correspondingly conservative, traditional, fundamentalist Christianity.

This fact was demonstrated not only in the number of academies which were originally organized through the local Baptist church, and the number, particularly in cities, which continue to be affiliated with some denomination, but also in the teachings of academies which have no official church ties. A description of Central Alabama Academy in Montgomery contained the following:

All instruction in the class room and on the playing field is built around a God-centered plan of education. Respect to God and Country is taught. A Bible Study Course is conducted in each classroom each morning.⁷²

The Starkville Academy Student Handbook emphasized that "no interpretation" was to be given to the reading of the Bible verses, which were part of the morning devotional conducted through the public address system by members of the student council.⁷³ At Pillow Academy in Greenwood, Mississippi, the daily devotional was conducted by the Fellowship of Christian Athletes and cheerleaders under the direction of one of the coaches.⁷⁴ At Cahawba Christian School in Centreville, Alabama, Bible classes were not a part of the curriculum, but the students had to answer "five objective questions" on the verses read each day in homeroom. The school's assemblies once a week

included singing of religious songs and an address by a minister.⁷⁵

I found the atmosphere of the LISA Student Council Convention to be very much like a fundamentalist church camp. The three-day meeting opened with a worship service on Sunday evening and concluded with the election of officers for the coming year. Even some of the speeches by the candidates for office reflected the importance of religion in their concept of school life. One student's campaign speech began: "I will have to depend on the Lord Jesus Christ to show and guide me in fulfilling my duties and responsibilities," and concluded: "I hope we, Claiborne Academy, can serve you as President while serving our beliefs in God and fulfilling our responsibilities to LISA."⁷⁶

At the MPSA Student Council Convention the religious emphasis came directly from representatives of the Campus Crusade for Christ movement. Time was set aside on the workshop agenda for students to talk with these representatives, Mr. and Mrs. Dave Simmons. At the Convention banquet I talked with Mrs. Simmons and asked if any Black students ever attended the Campus Crusade for Christ meetings. She replied:

Sometimes there are three or five. We have a Black couple from Oregon -- very sharp, good dressers -- who work more with the Blacks. The white students are very warm and open to Blacks when they come to meetings. That's the way it should be, though we wouldn't want it to get out of balance.⁷⁷

It was not surprising to find that the Campus Crusade for Christ met regularly in the Council Schools of Jackson, Mississippi. The Southern culture, which Donald Roberts wanted so desperately to preserve, could never have survived without the legitimating impetus provided by religion. Religion in the South has always worked hand in glove with Southern schools and Southern legislatures to be sure that the precarious relationship between Blacks and whites does not "get out of balance."

Finally, I usually closed my questions with: "What do you think is the future of the private schools in the South?" "They're here to stay," came the incessant reply, "as long as there is a need." Naturally, the teachings of the academies hope to ensure that there will be people who think there is a need because they will have been taught, for at least another generation, that love of God, love of their white skins, and love of quality education cannot be separated. Like their parents before them they will remember that the only Black people to enter their homes and schools were the maids and the cooks, and, more importantly, that somehow God intended it to be so and that that was their place.

Chapter III

Footnotes

¹Paul Newell, "The President's Message," in Claiborne Academy's newspaper, The Rebel Yell, November, 1971, p. 2.

²Interview with Paul Newell, Haynesville, Louisiana, May 23, 1972.

³Interview with Donald D. Roberts, Ruston, Louisiana, May 24, 1972.

⁴Interview with Donald D. Roberts.

⁵Interview with Rex Pearce, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, August 7, 1973.

⁶Interview with Grover Saunders, Shreveport, Louisiana, January 12, 1973.

⁷Interview with Sam Barthe, Matairie, Louisiana, January 10, 1973.

⁸Interview with Stephen H. Hammons, Ruston, Louisiana, December 18, 1972.

⁹Interview with Cecil C. Ross, Minden, Louisiana, January 17, 1973.

¹⁰Interview with John Hurley, West Monroe, Louisiana, January 16, 1973.

¹¹Interview with Charlie Drennon, West Monroe, Louisiana, January 16, 1973.

¹²Interview with J. R. Kilgore, Homer, Louisiana, March 13, 1973.

¹³J. R. Kilgore, Claiborne Academy, Homer, Louisiana, March 13, 1973.

¹⁴Interview with T. H. Waters, Hammond, Louisiana, January 11, 1973.

- 15 "The Segs," Esquire, January, 1964, p. 135.
- 16 Interview with George Shannon, Jackson, Mississippi, March 19, 1973.
- 17 Interview with George Shannon.
- 18 Interview with Glenn Cain, Jackson, Mississippi, March 19, 1973.
- 19 Interview with Glenn Cain.
- 20 Interview with James N. Lear, Indianola, Mississippi, March 14, 1973.
- 21 Interview with Tom Spight, Leland, Mississippi, March 14, 1973.
- 22 Interview with Matthew Turner, Louisville, Mississippi, March 15, 1973.
- 23 Interview with Raymond Morgan, Greenwood, Mississippi, March 14, 1973.
- 24 Interview with J. D. Withers, Learned, Mississippi, March 16, 1973.
- 25 Interview with Max Howell, Montgomery, Alabama, March 20, 1973.
- 26 Interview with Lamar Crawley, Opelika, Alabama, March 21, 1973.
- 27 Interview with R. C. Edwards, Tuskegee, Alabama, March 21, 1973.
- 28 Interview with Ben Kirk, Auburn, Alabama, March 21, 1973.
- 29 Interview with Aubry B. Elam, Centreville, Alabama, March 22, 1973.
- 30 Interview with Buddy Sumner, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, March 22, 1973.
- 31 Interview with H. J. Nick, Montgomery, Alabama, March 20, 1973.
- 32 Interview with Bob McCool, Carrollton, Alabama, March 22, 1973.

33 Interview with W. M. Gravatt, Jr., Blackstone, Virginia, May 24, 1973.

34 Interview with Don Keaton, Blackstone, Virginia, May 24, 1973.

35 Interview with Robert Redd, Farmville, Virginia, May 25, 1973.

36 Interview with Glenn Cain, May 26, 1972.

37 "Do You Wish to Enroll in Claiborne Academy?" The Guardian Journal, Homer, Louisiana, May 3, 1973.

38 Interview with Paul Newell, May 23, 1972.

39 Interview with T. H. Waters, January 11, 1973.

40 Interview with George Shannon, March 19, 1973.

41 Interview with William Rainach, Homer, Louisiana, December 21, 1972.

42 Interview with Paul Newell, May 23, 1972.

43 Interview with Paul Newell.

44 Interview with Cecil C. Ross, January 17, 1973.

45 Interview with John Hurley, January 16, 1973.

46 Interview with Donald D. Roberts, May 24, 1972.

47 Interview with Robert Redd, May 25, 1973.

48 Donald D. Roberts, Louisiana Independent School Association Newsletter, January 5, 1973.

49 Interview with W. M. Gravatt, May 24, 1973.

50 Interview with Rex Pearce, August 7, 1973.

51 Donald D. Roberts, Louisiana Independent School Association Newsletter, October 31, 1972.

52 Interview with teachers at Ridgedale Academy, West Monroe, Louisiana, January 16, 1973.

53 Interview with teachers at Starkville Academy, Starkville, Mississippi, March 15, 1973.

⁵⁴Interview with teachers at Friendship Academy, Shreveport, Louisiana, January 12, 1973.

⁵⁵Interview with teachers at Kenston Forest School, Blackstone, Virginia, May 24, 1973.

⁵⁶Interview with Don Keaton, May 24, 1973.

⁵⁷Interview with students at the LISA Student Council Convention, Homer, Louisiana, March 11, 1973.

⁵⁸Interview with students at the MPSA Student Council Convention, Jackson, Mississippi, March 16, 1973.

⁵⁹Interview with students at the MPSA Student Council Convention, Jackson, Mississippi, March 16, 1973.

⁶⁰Interview with Robert Redd, May 25, 1973.

⁶¹Interview with Matthew Turner, March 15, 1973.

⁶²Interview with Stephen H. Hammons, December 18, 1972.

⁶³Interview with Lamar Crawley, March 21, 1973.

⁶⁴Interview with Stephen H. Hammons.

⁶⁵Interview with Lamar Crawley.

⁶⁶Interview with Grover Saunders, January 12, 1973.

⁶⁷John C. Walden and Allen D. Cleveland, "The South's New Segregation Academies," Phi Delta Kappan, 53(December, 1971), 238. The research on which this article was based was conducted by Allen D. Cleveland for his dissertation entitled, "Alabama's Private, Nonsectarian Elementary and Secondary Schools in 1970," Auburn University, 1970, which was directed by John C. Walden.

⁶⁸In an interview in Jackson, Mississippi, March 19, 1973, W. J. Simmons said the students in Council schools in Jackson averaged about five points above the state average for ACT scores. In an interview in Montgomery, Alabama, March 20, 1973, Max Howell said that in 1972, of the students graduating from APSA schools who had been with those schools in grades nine through twelve, the average ACT score was 21, compared to the state average of 16 and the national average of 16.5.

- ⁶⁹Interview with Grover Saunders, January 12, 1973.
- ⁷⁰Interview with Donald D. Roberts, May 24, 1972.
- ⁷¹Interview with Donald D. Roberts.
- ⁷²Central Alabama Academy Brochure, Montgomery, Alabama: Central Alabama Academy, n.d.
- ⁷³Starkville Academy Student Handbook (Starkville, Mississippi: Oktibbeha Educational Foundation, Inc., 1972), p. 27.
- ⁷⁴Pillow Academy Handbook (Greenwood, Mississippi: Pillow Academy, 1972), p. 3.
- ⁷⁵Interview with Aubry B. Elam, March 22, 1973.
- ⁷⁶Stated in a speech by Sam Kendrick, Claiborne Academy's Student Council President, at the LISA Student Council Convention, Homer, Louisiana, March 13, 1973.
- ⁷⁷Interview with Mrs. Dave Simmons at the MPSA Student Council Convention, Jackson, Mississippi, March 16, 1973.

CHAPTER IV

I Take My Stand

Looking at the development of the new, all-white, private schools across the South today, it is sometimes difficult to see clearly all the forces represented behind those new brick walls with their orderly, well-dressed, rather typical American school children. Their football teams are often called Rebels and their players wear Confederate flags on their helmets; but their colors are red, white, and blue and they're "good kids." They come from some of the "best" families, and they "sure do work hard for their school." They're "just trying to get a good education" -- so their parents tell them and so they believe -- because "well, you know, the public schools are not what they used to be." "Public school teachers don't teach anything anymore; they've given up; there's no discipline in the public schools." "I am not for segregation, but I sure don't want to send my little girl to that junior high school and have her molested in the halls." "I want the best for my child. Am I supposed to sacrifice his education because of mistakes our society has made for generations?" All of these remarks I have heard repeated in one form or another in conversations about the segregation academies.

We have seen that the same personalities and social and political forces at work in the massive resistance movement of the 1950's have contributed directly to the creation and perpetuation of the new private schools throughout the South. Are these schools anything more than a remnant of massive resistance? Liberals and conservatives alike have expressed increasing dissatisfaction with American public school education in the past ten or fifteen years. Some have blamed the federal government and court-ordered desegregation for disrupting the schools. Others have pointed to underlying failures in the entire educational system and have called for greater "accountability" from educators and a reassessment of public school financing. Parents and teachers in the segregation academies also say that dissatisfaction with the public schools is one of their major reasons for building the new private schools. What part do the academies play in the growing movement away from traditional public school education in America? Are they offering significant alternatives?

Like spokesmen for private education traditionally, segregation academy leaders argue that their schools offer a much needed alternative and "healthy competition" to the monopolistic, bureaucratic, inefficient public schools. Because the academies are generally smaller than the average public school system, lack the public school's administrative

expenses, and use volunteer labor, they also tend to operate more efficiently economically than the public schools. Glenn Cain of the Mississippi Private School Association claims that the private schools not only offer freedom of choice but also save the taxpayers of Mississippi \$32,000,000 annually by educating 65,000 pupils.¹ As an added virtue, W. M. Gravatt of Blackstone, Virginia, claims that the existence of the private school actually helps the public schools adjust to integration because the whites who attend the public school are there by choice and work hard to make integration succeed.²

Non-segregationists have used similar arguments in support of non-public education. In 1971 Donald A. Erickson and George F. Madaus reported to The President's Commission on School Finance that their investigation of racially changing neighborhoods in Chicago and Boston indicated that nonpublic schools had been crucial in efforts to achieve stable racial integration.³ They pointed out that "public school arrangements guarantee that the rich get well-supported education at low tax rates and the poor get a meagerly supported education at high tax rates." Erickson and Madaus also claimed that the inner-city Catholic schools have offered more than the public schools to upwardly mobile poor whites and Blacks, and at a per pupil cost of 59.8 per cent of the public school expenditure.⁴

Their report offers further support to the private school's argument for the advantages of smaller schools and greater teacher-pupil contact in their discussion of the problems with large, consolidated schools. Even though the larger schools may offer a broader range of courses and a greater number of specialists, they contended, less student learning may result because the institution is too cumbersome and impersonal to effectively respond to the psychic demands and needs of its members.⁵ Erickson and Madaus concluded their report with a well-supported plea for educational pluralism and the need for public and nonpublic schools to promote divergent thinking in American society.

All of the segregationist academy leaders with whom I talked would readily agree with Erickson and Madaus's analysis of the failures of large public school systems and the need for smaller schools which can adapt more readily to the needs and interests of a particular group. Far from questioning or offering alternatives to the basic tenets of American education, however, most of the schools which I visited seem to be doing little more than maintaining the standards of the area's white public schools before integration. And regardless of how academically sound those white public schools were, the education they offered was always racist -- not only because the students, teachers, and administrators were by law restricted to

one race in a multi-racial culture, but also because the curriculum was planned by and for whites only. Furthermore, the segregation academies cater to middle and upper class whites in the small towns and suburbs with the definite intent of preserving the class structure of our white dominated society.

Commenting on the decline of Catholic schools nationally, Erickson and Madaus note that historically in the United States "church related schools have existed to assist their clients with problematic societal relationships, religious persecution, social exclusion, and ethnic adaptation and survival." Correspondingly, "when the problems disappeared the schools were largely abandoned."⁶ The reverse process seems to have occurred in the segregation academies. The whites who once dominated the public schools now feel that they can no longer educate their children as they wish, and so they turn to private schools where they can have more control over the environment and content of their children's education.

What is at issue in the segregation academy, however, is not a question of the parents' right to educate their children in private schools. Neither is it a question of trying to revise the system of financing public education, nor of a need for educational pluralism. Far from offering viable remedies for the failures of public education, the

segregation academies propose to uphold the very racist and elitist dogmas which for so long have undermined American education and American society generally. Furthermore, on a more immediate level, the segregation academies are seriously threatening public education and public needs in general in many localities throughout the South.

The Southern economy generally has never been as strong as that of the nation as a whole, and it has long been plagued with the added expense of maintaining dual public school systems because of its racism. In the black belt areas where they are strongest, the segregation academies are recreating dual school systems. This time, however, the public schools are mostly Black with a few whites, and the private schools, of course, are all white. White parents are paying doubly -- taxes and tuition -- while receiving practically the same return: a wasteful and unjust education for their children.⁷ At the same time, the public schools remain essentially middle class institutions which fail to effectively serve their new constituents.⁸

John W. Yeates, a professor of education at Florence State University, Florence, Alabama, has noted additional evidence of economic hardship brought on by the academies. He says that in smaller communities the academies can hurt business sales and community services because only upper income families can afford to send their children to the

academy and at the same time maintain their customary standard of living. Other families have to cut back on ordinary expenditures in order to pay the school tuition. Although private school leaders claim that this is just a matter of giving up the color TV for the sake of quality education, the cut back in local business revenue results in a decrease in the amount of tax revenue collected.⁹ Furthermore, the parents who are paying tuition for their children to attend the local academy are far less interested in voting new bonds or increased sales taxes to pay for the public schools.¹⁰

In some places the damage to public schools has been even more immediate and direct because private school leaders maintain control of the public schools. In a 1972 report to the Southern Regional Council, Cynthia Brown and Marlene Provizer, staff writers for the Washington Research Project, describe the educational situation in Sumter County, Georgia: Six of the seven county school board members are strong and vocal private school supporters. The public school system has been economically undermined by a drastic cutback in the tax millage from 20 to 12 mills between 1970 and 1972. In the face of grave financial need, local school funding has dropped from \$512,437 in 1971 to \$360,000 in 1972. There is not enough money for teachers' salaries, and school facilities are in desperate need of

repair. Despite a shortage of textbooks, the board has cut the superintendent's \$5,000 recommendation for textbooks to \$1,000 and his \$2,838 request for library expenses to \$838. Equipment purchased with federal funds has strangely disappeared or never been accounted for, and many Sumter County public supporters believe that the equipment has been transferred to the private schools.¹¹

A report in the spring of 1972 on the school situation in another southwest Georgia county indicates similar damage caused by the local segregation academy. In Baker County, the county's newest building, built in 1955 at a cost of \$125,000, has been auctioned for \$6,500 to house Baker Academy's 325 students. Other "surplus" items -- 20 desks and chairs for \$200 and 4 school buses for \$850 -- also have been sold to the academy. The public school, with 107 white and 701 Black students, has to use the second best building where there are insufficient desks and poor toilet facilities. When Baker Academy used the public school gym and cafeteria free of charge to raise money, the public school principal complained that academy students were abusing the property; for this he was fired. This action provided the spark which united public school whites and Blacks, and resulted in a Federal suit against the school board.¹²

In some places the whites and Blacks are gradually

gaining strength in support of public schools. In others, however, deep division remains and all are losing. Brown and Provizer report that in Boliver County, Mississippi, public and private schools have been suffering as the economy withers and poor and middle class whites move out.¹³

Even where such extreme conditions do not prevail and the segregation academies have not completely undermined the public schools, we cannot ignore the far-reaching, largely negative effects of the academy movement on the lives of the academies' own students, as well as on Southern education as a whole. One critic of the academies predicts that the result of the academy movement will not be an end to public schools in the South, but rather a more thorough class system of education like that which already exists in much of the rest of the country. The public schools will become vocational-education centers for working class whites and Blacks, and the middle class of both races will go to private college-preparatory schools.¹⁴ Although this is not yet the general trend, there are indications that it is beginning to happen in Indianola, Mississippi (the home of Senator Eastland and the first Citizens' Council). In the research which uncovered the Sumter County situation described above, Cynthia Brown and Marlene Provizer report the following circumstances:

As a result of the area academies' drain on the

economy, together with a successful Black boycott of local stores, the Indianola power structure, which is completely behind the 1500 student Indianola Academy, has told lower income whites to go ahead and send their children to the public schools. Indianola Academy will probably survive as a school for the elite, but with a smaller enrollment of about 500. While Blacks have token representation on the school board, however, it is still controlled by the private school supporters.¹⁵

Whether or not public schools end up as vocational-education schools for the poor and the academies become the established education for the middle and upper classes, the white flight to private schools has become one more example of the American tendency to run from problems of human community relationships rather than try to find workable solutions. When the majority of a community's leadership gives its energy and talents to establishing an all-white, status quo, private school, that means there are fewer, if any, people working to find solutions to the problems of dealing with students of different abilities and varying socio-economic backgrounds in the same educational setting.¹⁶ Those problems are real and complex and ones which we must solve if we are to begin to alleviate the centuries-old ills of our racist and classist society. If we continue to view the only possible responses to school integration as being either "sacrificing a generation of white school children" or resorting to various means of resegregation, which

means "saving" most whites and continuing to sacrifice poor whites and Blacks, we will have failed again to recognize that racism in any form is destructive for everyone.

Public schools remain the primary means of educating the majority of the population, and they are failing to meet the needs of their constituents. To heal the wounds of centuries of separation and Black subordination in American society, to make school integration work, will require far more creative thinking than has been demonstrated so far by the federal, state, and local education authorities.¹⁷ Furthermore, it will require a radical re-examination of the school's role in society. Colin Greer, editor of Social Policy and formerly project associate at Teachers' College, Columbia University, strikes at the heart of the matter when he suggests that the problem with the schools is not that they have changed, but that they continue to do what they have always done: to serve as the primary selectors of the winners and losers in a society where success is determined by socio-economic class.¹⁸ Gary Orfield, political scientist at Princeton University, describes the issues of school desegregation as a battle "between those who wish the public schools to be truly committed to equal opportunity and those who desire the schools to perpetuate the local culture and social order."¹⁹

So far, the latter are winning, both in the segregation academies and in the public schools.

The tragedy of segregated schools is that they perpetuate a concept of education which says that learning to do well on tests and to succeed in college can be separated, indeed must be separated, from learning to live with other people of different racial and social backgrounds. Furthermore, it teaches students that the best way to handle issues of racial differences and civil injustice is to avoid seeing them at all. Segregation creates a vicious cycle, a self-fulfilling prophecy, in which its consequences become its justification.²⁰ So it is that whites, looking at the Black students in the newly integrated schools, see the effects of centuries of segregation and oppression as a justification for starting another segregated school system. Segregated schools, however, deprive not only Black children but also white children of access to the truth about themselves and their society. Winifred Green, Director of the Southeastern Public Education Program of the American Friends Service Committee, describes the harm to the white students in the segregation academies in words which bear repeating:

It may seem strange to speak of children in schools designed to train them in the myth of their superiority as oppressed, but their isolation from reality can only mean that their lives will be limited. They may be a new generation condemned

to live with all the guilt and self-deception that it takes to maintain the myth.²¹

The academy movement points to many paradoxes in American life, one of which is the belief in salvation through education. We have taken the most basic public institution of American culture and used it to deepen and reinforce the most fundamental flaw of American society.²² Thus, the means of salvation have become the instruments of damnation. The segregation academies epitomize this failure of American education as a whole to do anything more than perpetuate the inequities of a racist and classist society.

The academy movement also demonstrates America's always paradoxical belief in the mission of the chosen. Like the Massachusetts Bay Colony which John Winthrop called to be a "city on a hill," a model by which the Puritans could eventually reform English society, the academy sees itself as the model for all to follow in order to redeem America, save the white children, and preserve the Western European Protestant tradition. And, like the Bay Colony, it will find itself static and dying in the backwaters of time.

The segregation academy movement, like all the South's defensive efforts-- the Confederacy, the Redeemers, the Citizens' Councils and Massive Resistance -- has tried to preserve the status quo by appealing to an image of

the South and to a way of life that has always been demeaning. The South has given its best talents to these defensive efforts, and they have enjoyed great success; but none has prevailed.

Believing that the segregation academies are not the wave of the future, however, does not lessen the importance of their impact on the lives of thousands of Southern students today. Neither does it lessen the need to resist them. Their leaders have defined the issues too long. They have warped the lives of too many school children and seriously delayed the long overdue efforts to offer a full education to all Americans.

Although the segregation academy movement has been largely a Southern phenomenon, its importance to American society as a whole must not be overlooked. What happens in and to the South is not only a responsibility but also a part of the experience of the rest of the nation. In The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking (1970) Paul Gaston, research director of the Southern Regional Council and formerly director of graduate studies in history at the University of Virginia, describes the common roots of both the Old South and the New South myths and their shared relationship to the national ideals. If the Civil Rights Movement shattered the myth of the New South, according to Gaston, it also shattered all claims

to racial justice and harmony elsewhere in the nation. The iconoclastic effects begun in Little Rock and Birmingham spread to Watts and Detroit; and if America still held any faith in itself as a land of opportunity, triumph, and innocence, Vietnam and Watergate have effectively destroyed these myths, too. We can no longer describe the South as the only region in America to know poverty, defeat, and racial injustice. The South and the nation are one in their failure to achieve the American dream. They are one also in the need to move beyond the crippling effects of old myths. Americans everywhere must face the wound of self-division, and find new ways to live with the joys and the sorrows of our shared humanity.

With the synthesizing vision which Southern novelists have so often brought to the study of Southern and American society, Walker Percy captures the true significance of the segregation academy movement in twentieth century America. He leaves no doubt as to the real intent of the schools when he describes the fictional Valley Forge Academy as "founded on patriotic and religious principles and to keep Negroes out." Then he makes it the object of a farcical revolutionary plot in which no one wins. Although the Blacks take over and end not only the academy but also the white-dominated society which the academy seeks to preserve, society as a whole remains essentially unchanged.

The Blacks move into the suburbs and the whites retreat to the shacks in the swamps. No one wins the revolution in Love in the Ruins because for the Christian existentialist Percy, people in twentieth century America, like people in all of history, must seek their salvation and ultimate meaning beyond the realms of the American dream, or any other utopian myth, by recognizing their divided selves and the necessity of the endless quest of faith. From this larger perspective of Percy's novel, then, one does not need to worry about the segregationist academies. They are part of a no-win situation which is doomed to failure.

Recognizing the academies' place in this larger perspective, however, does not prevent Walker Percy himself from resisting their influence in his daily existence as a citizen of Covington, Louisiana. He protested the efforts of white parents to keep Blacks out of the local Catholic school, and he joined the picket line of Black students when they protested the flying of the Confederate flag in the local public school.

Taking Percy's dual perspective, therefore, I, too, can choose only to resist. I have looked at the segregation academy movement in the light of Southern and American history and have seen its roots in a long line of racist beliefs and actions which America and the South are still

struggling to overcome. More importantly, however, I look at the academy in the immediate present. I look at the development of Claiborne Academy and its influence on the lives of the people whom I love the most, and I see cracks in this symbol of all that I hate about the South.

After four years under the influence of Claiborne Academy, my sister Camille attended a state-wide high school leadership conference in the summer of 1973 at Louisiana State University. Students from public and private schools all over Louisiana attended, and my sister happened to room next to a Black student from New Orleans with whom she became good friends. After Camille returned from the conference, she talked often about her new friend from New Orleans. One day she said to me, "Did I ever tell you that she is Black?" Then she began to tell about the way they had joked with each other and her Black friend had said, "Come the revolution, I'll let you work on my plantation." Then Camille said, "It occurred to me that because I go to Claiborne Academy, I don't ever get to know anybody like her." And I said, "Camille, that is exactly what I have against Claiborne Academy." Then I told her of a similar experience that I had when I was her age. I, too, had my first experience of meeting a Black person as my equal while attending a conference away from home. I became friends with a Black girl, and

she asked me, "Do you believe in integration?" At that time "integration" was an evil word in my life, and I could not say that I was for it. But neither could I reject the individual Black person who stood before me. I could only reply, "I don't know." Camille responded, "When something like that happens, you never forget it, do you." "No, Camille," I said, "you never forget it."

The influence of racist institutions is still very great. Camille herself admitted that if she had attended the conference with a group of friends from Claiborne Academy, she would never have spoken to the Black girl from New Orleans. The seed of doubt has been planted, however, and I believe it will take root and grow. Both her experience and mine are proof that the forces of racism in the white South are not so strong as the Academy leaders would think. Our lives have been warped, it is true; but we have learned all of our lessons well. The same parents and teachers who taught us that Blacks were not our equals also taught us something of Christian love and the importance of standing up for what we believe. It is to their credit that we choose to reject their lessons of hate and weakness and to stand for ourselves in the lessons of love and strength which they have also given us.

Chapter IV

Footnotes

- ¹ Interview with Glenn Cain, Jackson, Mississippi, May 26, 1972.
- ² Interview with W. M. Gravatt, Jr., Blackstone, Virginia, May 24, 1973.
- ³ Donald A. Erickson and George F. Madaus, Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools, Summary Analysis (Washington, D. C.: The President's Commission on School Finances, 1971), p. 4.
- ⁴ Erickson and Madaus, Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools, p. 9.
- ⁵ Erickson and Madaus, Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools, p. 11.
- ⁶ Erickson and Madaus, Issues of Aid to Nonpublic Schools, p. 16.
- ⁷ John W. Yeates, "Private Schools and Public Confusion," New South, fall, 1970, p. 84.
- ⁸ Kitty Terjen, "White Flight: The Segregated Academy Movement," in Robert E. Anderson, Jr., ed., The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-71, A Report. (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1971), p. 79.
- ⁹ Yeates, "Private Schools and Public Confusion," p. 84.
- ¹⁰ Terjen, "White Flight," p. 79.
- ¹¹ Cynthia Brown and Marlene Provizer, "The South's New Dual School System: A Case Study," New South, fall, 1972, pp. 64-66.
- ¹² "Friendly Competition," Newsweek, March 27, 1972, p. 70.

¹³Brown and Provizer, "The South's New Dual School System," p. 71.

¹⁴Elizabeth Tornquist, "Rebel Yell Academies," Ramparts, September, 1971, p. 12.

¹⁵Brown and Provizer, "The South's New Dual School System," p. 71.

¹⁶Yeates, "Private Schools and Public Confusion," p. 85.

¹⁷John C. Walden and Allen D. Cleveland, "The South's New Segregation Academies," Phi Delta Kappan, December, 1971, p. 235.

¹⁸Colin Greer, "Public Schools: The Myth of the Melting Pot," Saturday Review, November 15, 1969, p. 84.

¹⁹Gary Orfield, The Reconstruction of Southern Education: The Schools and the 1964 Civil Rights Act (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969), p. 1.

²⁰I. A. Newby, ed., The Development of Segregationist Thought (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1968), p. 18.

²¹Winifred Green, "The Struggle for Freedom: Public Education in the South," New South, fall, 1970, p. 88.

²²Orfield, The Reconstruction of Southern Education, p. 348.

W. M. GRAVATT, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
BLACKSTONE, VIRGINIA 23824

January 4, 1971

Mr. James P. Boyle
District Director
Internal Revenue Service
P. O. Box 10067
Richmond, Virginia 23240

Dear Mr. Boyle:

I am enclosing herewith your form L-339 (-1-70) addressed to Lunenburg-Nottoway Educational Foundation, Blackstone, Virginia. In answering your questionnaire, we have indicated that our admissions policies are other than discriminatory or non-discriminatory. We wish to explain this answer as follows:

Our admissions policy is exactly the same that it was when we applied for our tax exempt certificate five years ago. Each student is admitted only upon approval of a vote of the Board of Directors of the institution. Due to the philosophy and teaching of our school it is highly unlikely that a member of the black race would be accepted either as a student or faculty member at this time.

Our present philosophy holds to the belief that there are large differences in the learning and social characteristics between the white and black races, and that each race can obtain its educational and social goals better, and faster, by maintaining educational institutions exclusively used and controlled by each. This philosophy is definitely not based upon any claim or belief that there is any superiority or inferiority of one race as compared to the other.

Mr. James P. Boyle, District Director - Jan. 4, '71 - p. 2

Our students are taught to love and respect their fellowman, regardless of his race, religion or national origin. We reject the terms "discriminatory" or "non-discriminatory" because modern usage of these terms has come to mean selection of one thing or person over another by reason of an actual or fancied superiority in quality.

We also reject the principle of racial tokenism since it is our belief that this degrades the black race and leads to animosity.

Finally, I would like to state that it is the policy of our institution that it be operated in such a manner that no law of the local, state or federal government be violated. We respectfully maintain that there is nothing in our philosophy, teachings or policy which should cause the withdrawal of our tax exemption certificate.

A copy of our current school catalogue is enclosed herewith for your reference and inspection.

Yours very truly,

Lunenburg-Nottoway Educational Foundation

By _____
President

WNCJr:mp
Enc.

1 31 Hopkins Plaza, Baltimore, Md. 21201
2 P.O. Box 270, Newark, N.J. 07101

3 401 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19108
4 P.O. Box 2488, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15230

5 400 N. 8th St., Richmond, Va. 22240
6 800 Delaware Ave., Wilmington, Del. 19801

Department of the Treasury

Address any reply to DISTRICT DIRECTOR at office No. 5.

Internal Revenue Service

Internal Revenue Service

Date:

In reply refer to:

November 30, 1970 Au:FA:1258



Lunenburg-Fottoway Educational Foundation
Ridge Road at Holden Lane
Blackstone, Virginia 23024

Gentlemen:

The Internal Revenue Service, after careful study, has concluded that private schools with racially discriminatory admissions policies are not legally entitled to Federal tax exemption and that contributions to such schools are not deductible as charitable contributions. This position is applicable to all private schools in the United States at all levels of education. The enclosed statements discuss this position in greater detail.

The Service will continue to recognize the tax exempt status of a private school where it has adopted and administers, or will adopt and administer, a nondiscriminatory admissions policy in good faith, and publicizes the fact within its community. The benefits of tax exempt status and deductibility of contributions will, however, be challenged by the Service where a private school practices racial discrimination in its admissions policy.

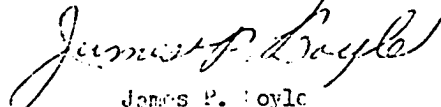
We are now reviewing all rulings and determinations issued to private schools in the United States in the light of this position. With but few exceptions, our present files on educational organizations do not contain information on admissions policies and related facts. Thus, this inquiry is being directed to all schools having Service rulings of tax exemption.

To enable us to determine your correct status, we ask that you answer the questions on page two of this letter. You may retain for your files the enclosed copy of this letter. If you wish, you may submit any documents you feel will have a bearing on the matter. Your reply should be made over the signature of a principal officer of your organization and should be returned to this office in the enclosed envelope within thirty days. If you are in process of clarifying or modifying your admissions policy, you may request an extension of time in which to supply additional information.

Your reply will be evaluated promptly, and you will be advised of our findings. If it appears that your exemption is brought into question, you will have an opportunity to present additional evidence and be heard before a decision is reached.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

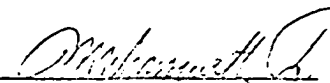

James P. Doyle
District Director

Information to be Submitted to Internal Revenue Service

1. What are the present policies and practices of your school on admissions? / 1 Racially Nondiscriminatory / 1 Racially Discriminatory / X Other (Please explain.)
2. If you have a racially nondiscriminatory admissions policy explain the manner in which it has been widely publicized. (Please furnish pertinent information from your catalog, local newspaper or other similar publication, and other supporting information demonstrating wide dissemination.)
3. If you are undertaking to modify or clarify your admissions policy, explain your new or modified policy and your proposed methods of publicizing it. If you have already taken action, please furnish copies of any documents by which your policy is being established and publicized.

I declare that I have examined this questionnaire, including the accompanying statements, and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

11/1/71
Date


Signature of Officer

President
Title

List of Attachments:

News Release dated 7/10/70

News Release dated 7/10/70

Self-addressed envelope

Appendix B

ALABAMA PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION GENERAL PHILOSOPHY AND OBJECTIVES

A Local Controlled Environment of Quality Education To Preserve the True Southern Heritage

I. PHILOSOPHY

1. Educational - We give guidance to those who want to learn the principles of our country; the dangers of false and foreign ideologies and movements; the means of putting their knowledge into useful and effective activities, as individuals. Unrestrained by any obligation except to our God and our nation and its worthwhile institutions and to our children, we are free in the true sense of the word.

2. Religious - We love our creator and believe that only through His inspiration can man achieve his highest development. We know that a religious belief is the base of honor, honesty, wisdom and orderliness in human relationships. Only men with peace in their hearts will ever establish Peace on Earth with liberty and justice.

3. Patriotic - We love this country and want it to be brave, honorable and respected. We despise those who would tear our national house down for any reason or any purpose, by any means, legal or illegal.

4. Conservative - We respect the principles of our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution and Bill of Rights. We believe the preservation of these principles is our only guarantee of freedom as individuals and as a nation.

5. Optimistic - Now that the Southern people have had a preview of the alternatives in our Schools, we believe our great people will refuse to surrender to these evils. We believe the people are demanding and seeking a way to return to "sense" in education, and in the lives of youth. It now behooves every thoughtful citizen to give encouragement to officials who are trying to help, warnings to our destroyers and to risk their lives, their fortunes in order to save their sacred honor.

6. Discriminatory - We value excellence, quality, dignity and responsibility with their just rewards. We reject commonness in education, meanness in human behavior, self-seeking in or through politics. We also reject foolish sentimentality and sloganized and emotionalized reaction

as a substitute for reasoned judgment.

7. Progressive - We recognize that in recent years we have been pushed or have injudiciously drifted away from our principles as a republic with a free enterprise economic system which gives opportunity to all with the will to improve their lot to do so, into a partial democracy where the State and vested interests, even criminal conspiracies and ideological misleaders have increasingly put restrictive and reactionary burdens on us as individuals. We recognize this as retrogression into slavery to the State. We advocate responsible progress along the American pattern to the place where liberty is that which is guaranteed and freedom is based on justice and lawful and loyal behavior. We want opportunity, not opportunism. We prefer hand-ups to hand-outs. Such is the essence of freedom.

II. OBJECTIVES

1. Schools should provide a minimum of twelve years of profitable experiences for all children. School programs should be flexible enough to adjust to changing conditions in order to meet adequately the needs of boys and girls. The general life of the school and methods of teaching should conform to what is currently known about the ways in which boys and girls learn and grow.

2. Schools must develop an understanding of, appreciation of, and love for the democratic way of life. Opportunity must be provided for all who are concerned to practice democratic principles in carrying on all aspects of school life. Democracy implies:

a. that the ability of each person involved in a given undertaking is necessary in determining the best action for the individual or the group.

b. that respect for the personality of each individual is basic to the type of cooperative living which meets the demands of the American way of life.

c. that each individual shall have opportunity to develop his optimum powers and potentialities.

d. that each individual shall participate in planning and directing affairs which concern him and the group of which he is a part.

e. that each individual shall have opportunity for free discussion and examination of questions, problems, projects, or undertakings in the light of actual facts and data.

f. that each individual shall share, cooperate, and assume responsibilities in working with others toward building a better group life.

3. Schools should provide experiences which are suited to a child's development and maturity level and which enable him to grow continuously in physical, mental, cultural, and spiritual values.

All experiences, planned and unplanned, that boys and girls have at school should be utilized as learning situations. The experiences of boys and girls in school should develop a feeling of security and maintain and promote emotional stability in school and home relationships.

4. The boys and girls should have many opportunities of studying and doing something about current problems of living -- personal, community, regional, national, and international.

5. The twelve years of school experience should enable every pupil to grow normally in the effective use of speech, reading, writing, numbers, and knowledge essential to well rounded living.

Appendix C

ALABAMA PRIVATE SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

HOW TO ORGANIZE A PRIVATE SCHOOL

1. Determine the extent of the demand in your community for a private school. This can be done rather easily by using the degree of problems of the public schools as a yardstick. If there are few, support for a private school will be limited. On the other hand if many problems exist in the public schools, support of private schools by the white community will be proportionately massive. This is true, North, South, East or West among "liberals" as well as "conservatives." Look at Washington, D. C.!

2. Get an attorney to assist in the formation of a non-profit educational foundation under the laws of your state.

3. Sign up members of your non-profit educational foundation. Initial capital can be raised by setting the membership dues at some reasonable figure. If you sign up 100 members at \$100.00 each, your initial capital will be \$10,000. Many have started with less than that. Elect officers and directors. Adopt a set of by-laws.

4. Employ a capable administrator, usually a former principal or superintendent. Have him (or Her) advise you in obtaining physical facilities.

5. Get a place for your school. Often, existing, unused buildings abandoned in the consolidation program of several years ago can be purchased. Church educational facilities may be rented if the classroom sizes are appropriate. It is also possible to build quite acceptable frame classroom structures for as low as \$100 per pupil. A rule of thumb figure to use for planning a new complete school, however, is \$400 per pupil. This allows for classrooms, teachers, lounges, corridors, restrooms and showers, an assembly hall, library, and science laboratory. The basis used is 40 square feet per pupil at a construction cost of \$10 per square foot. Your cost can be either 50% more or 50% less depending upon the amount of volunteer labor and materials available. You should know that your buildings do not have to be nearly as expensive as the

monolithic structures of concrete, glass, and steel on vast acreages now operated by the federal courts and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Relocatable classrooms have proved satisfactory in some instances. It will help to visit a private school already in operation and see what has been done. The most important elements of any school are children and teachers. Buildings are secondary.

6. Give your superintendent, or principal, absolute powers in so far as running the school is concerned. This includes hiring and supervising teachers, setting up curriculum, qualifying the school for accreditation, making rules of conduct, handling relations with patrons, etc. Some schools have floundered because they had too many "superintendents." Give your faculty real academic freedom!

7. Try to raise the capital funds required for your buildings by putting on a public solicitation drive. This is the time you should be able to count on the best response. Figure \$400 per pupil as a realistic target. By coincidence, this is equivalent to an average year's tuition.

8. Analyse the entire situation from a business standpoint. Be sure your school can operate in the black and make an operating profit. It is entirely possible to do so, as experience has proved many times. People will contribute to a building campaign. They are much less enthusiastic about contributing to make up a deficit.

9. Here are some figures that may help your analysis. Optimum pupil-teacher ratio should be about 25 to 1. At a reasonable tuition level, and at rates of pay for teachers near or somewhat below those prevailing in the public schools in your area, the break-even point is between 16 and 18 pupils per teacher. At 25 per class, you can operate well in the black, enough so as to finance a reasonable expansion program on borrowed money. As a thumbnail method of estimating your budget, figure the number of classrooms you need (bearing in mind that high school grades are departmentalized), add the teachers' salaries, add another one-third of the total teachers' salaries for all other operating expenses, such as utilities, school supplies, janitorial service, etc., and you will be pretty close to your total operating expenses for the year. Multiply your expected attendance by the average tuition (APSA averages \$40 per month over all twelve grades and allowing

for family discounts) and you will have your projected income. Be very conservative in estimating the attendance figure unless the public schools are really having problems. Even then, prudence at this point will often forestall financial problems later. Teachers' salaries will be by all odds your most important item of expenditure. Each year, these salaries will probably equal or exceed your entire capital investment. This point is well to keep in mind as a matter of comparative importance in your financial planning.

10. Operate your school as a business, not as a "democratic" community project. The latter will lead to endless petty disputes. The former will lead to operational success. There are several important differences between private schools such as are developing all over the South at this period and the former public schools to which all of us have become accustomed. For one thing, the private school stands in a very different relationship to the parent--a healthier one, many think--a relationship of a business to its customer rather than of a bureaucracy to its taxpayer. The patron is not compelled to buy the school's services; hence, the school must offer a product its prospective customer will buy. Likewise, the school is not compelled to handle the customer's business--it's a matter of free trade, as at any store--so if the customer becomes too insistent, as some school patrons have, in telling management how to run its business, all can part friends by ending the relationship. Moreover, private school children must behave or they can be readily expelled. One or two such episodes can have a marvelously settling effect on a student body. On the whole disciplinary problems have been almost non-existent in the new private Schools.

11. You can get excellent teachers. Most people are surprised to learn that acquiring a capable teaching staff is one of the easiest problems a private school has to solve. Teachers seem to prefer the academic superiority of private schools with their smaller classes and more congenial clientele, the absence of red tape, the physical safety, the closer personal relationships with both pupils and parents. Here, they can really teach. And one cannot fail to be impressed by the real dedication to their profession shown by so many private school teachers.

12. Finally, children are the key to your success or failure. If your school has a good, healthy enrollment,

it will succeed. If the enrollment is low, it will not. Other matters mentioned above are important, but these become meaningless unless you have the children to fulfill your responsibility to them. Questions are often asked about extra-curricular activities for the young people. In a primarily do-it-yourself movement, these can be what you make them. Dances and other social events, Halloween carnivals, ice cream parties, barbecues, school concerts, musicals, and the like, take on an importance seldom reached in the depersonalized, integrated, federal schools. Moreover, a full scale athletic program has been developed. in some states where organized private or independent school associations are in operation. In short, there is no lack of opportunity for the youngster. He will find more and healthier interests in an atmosphere you can trust--because you helped make it so.

Appendix D

Quality Education, as defined by the Council School Foundation, Jackson, Mississippi, in the 1972-73 handbook, Welcome to Council School, pp. 26-29.

1. A STUDENT BODY OF HIGH QUALITY. Cardinal Newman has observed that, in an organized educational institution, the students will learn more from each other than from their teachers. The experience of Foundation personnel has verified this perceptive observation over and over. Its truth does not vary, whether the socio-learning situation be excellent, fair, or poor. Thus, the importance of its being excellent becomes compelling. It follows, then, that a student should be associated with his true peers--as is the case in all Council Schools.

2. A CAPABLE TEACHING STAFF. Students learn, next, from adults--in this case, teachers. Think back. What do you remember most vividly as having been learned from your own teacher? Was it pure subject matter? Or was it the healthy influence of a mature personality? In all probability, it was the latter. The policy of Council School Foundation is to take both into account. Teachers are selected, obviously, for professional competence as measured by objective standards. But subjective standards of character, dedication, and leadership ability count for as much, if not more, in the end. Consequently, the Foundation regards its teachers and administrators as unique individuals--not as employees to be dealt with as a group. The real backbone of the Council Schools is its corps of loyal, proven teachers.

3. DISCIPLINE. As a society cannot last without law and order, a student body cannot last without discipline. The breakdown of law and order in our adult--and juvenile--societies, and the breakdown of discipline in many "blackboard jungle" public (federal) schools demonstrate with equal force the validity of this aphorism. Fortunately, discipline has never been a problem in the Council Schools, or in most other private schools, for that matter. It will never be permitted to become a problem. One of the conditions of enrollment is that applicants abide by the rules and regulations of the schools. Failure to do so can result in expulsion, and on rare occasions in the past, enforcement of that condition has been necessary.

The results have invariably been salutary. Rules and regulations currently in force are set forth in an Information Bulletin issued for parents and students.

4. COURSE OF STUDY. The philosophy of Council School Foundation is that its patrons, or customers, by agreeing to buy its product--credit for courses taken or diplomas conferred--have every right to expect value received for value paid. To the Foundation, its product means instruction in the arts and sciences--factual knowledge imparted. It does not mean indoctrination in any socialistic theories, be they left wing or right wing, or in between. It does mean encouraging respect for parents, for authority, for our nation, and for our God. But the payoff comes in work done. The most prevalent comment from patrons and students alike is that Council Schools are harder. Good work is not done in any other way.

5. ACCEPTABLE WORK REQUIRED. A condition of re-enrollment in Council Schools is that acceptable work must have been performed the previous year. Any courses not passed must be made up in summer school. Students who cannot or will not make passing grades or better, are not eligible to remain in school. Council Schools are not designed for remedial, behavioral, or retardational problems. Excellent specialized schools for these purposes are available elsewhere in the city.

6. WELL ROUNDED EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES. No individual can call his educational experience complete without an opportunity to participate in activities of a social nature. Here, hopefully, one can at least begin to acquire the social graces that arise from a thoughtful consideration of one's fellow man (or girl) and become naturally easy through practice. Council Schools do offer such opportunities, not only in the extracurricular activities that are a part of the regular instructional program, but in such "after hours" doings as dances, picnics, outings of various kinds, special field trips, and so on. The noticeable poise and bearing of Council School students indicate that they are good citizens in the best sense of the word.

7. LINES OF AUTHORITY. Few enterprises can fulfill their missions unless they are organized to do so along clear, positive, and realistic lines. Council School Foundation has given much thought and attention to this

area that all too often receives insufficient attention. The Foundation is organized and operated as a business, albeit non-profit. It is an autonomous body governed by a board of directors. The board determines policies for construction. It has delegated operating and academic authority to its superintendent, who in turn has delegated complete authority and responsibility for each school to the principal in charge. In practice, the principals have wide latitude for the exercise of their best judgment.

A related subject of importance should be mentioned --the relationship between patrons and the Foundation. For new patrons, in particular, the relationship is a new experience insofar as schools are concerned, for it is quite different from that of the public schools. There, the relationship is one of taxpayer to public official. Here it is one of customer to business enterprise. The public school relationship is complicated by all manner of "rights, privileges, and immunities," including the Fourteenth Amendment. The relationship between Council School patrons and the Foundation is contractual. It is clear-cut and business-like. Naturally, the Foundation wishes to please its customers. For without their patronage it, like any other business enterprise, could not exist. Also, like other businesses, the Foundation always welcomes helpful suggestions and constructive criticism from its customers, but remembers that it alone is responsible for management decisions--and consequences. The whole arrangement is orderly and clear-cut. It is free enterprise. And it works.

Appendix E

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SCOTT PREPARATORY SCHOOL

Scott Preparatory School of Opelika, Alabama, subscribes to the following statements of philosophy:

1. The educational welfare of the school children of Scott is the primary concern of the school. All conflicts of interests must be resolved in terms of that solution which contributes the most to the educational well-being of our children.

2. Education for citizenship in a democracy should hold a foremost place in the programs of all schools. These purposes must be accomplished without a loss of identity by the students. We do not seek to assume the educative functions of other community institutions; rather we wish to work cooperatively with them.

3. Scott Preparatory School is a creature of its community and is legally subject in all policy matters to the authority of its popularly elected Board of Trustees. As an agency for the accomplishment of its community's aims through education, Scott Preparatory School will seek continuously to promote opportunities for school-community interaction in order to further civic advancement.

4. Channels of communication shall be open so that staff members may make contributions and thoughts for consideration in determination of policies of the school. The school shall, at all times, seek to improve the professional, economic, and community status of its staff members. Employment shall depend upon proper qualification; retention shall be based upon demonstrated professional competence; and promotion shall come as a recognition of merit.

5. In all its functions - instructional and administrative - Scott Preparatory School shall follow those practices which offer the greatest real efficiency as measured in terms of both cost and results obtained. Constant, well-planned research and experimentation, followed by continuous evaluation of results, will point the way toward those procedures which contribute most to genuine progress.

This statement of philosophy is an effort to identify, systematize, and harmonize the body of beliefs and attitudes

of Scott Preparatory School which determine the nature, extent, and equality of the school's educational output.

This school exists to promote general welfare through developing intelligent, creative, social-minded young people, able and willing to work for a better democratic society.

A democratic society concerns itself with providing each individual with the opportunity to develop his potentialities and to evoke those qualities of character which make for a balance between self-sufficiency and cooperative interdependency.

The human organism is a dynamic whole, a result of its nature as affected by its environment. A well-rounded personality develops when the physical, intellectual, and emotional aspects of behavior operate together. The interests, ideals, events, and needs of the individual provide the motivation for development. Human behavior is purposeful and goal-seeking. Most effective learning takes place when goals are clearly seen and accepted as ends worthy of achievement.

The role of the school in a democratic society is three-fold: first, to increase understanding and appreciation of individual worth, to recognize the need of each individual to be loved and to be secure; second, to increase the understanding that each individual is the beneficiary of all that has been accomplished before him and to realize that all advances have been made through observation, careful study, reflective thinking, and original work; third, to increase the understanding that responsibility rests upon each individual to implement the progressive unfoldment of culture, that progress for the whole depends upon individual progress, and that each person best serves society by fulfilling his own possibilities and best serves himself when imbued with a desire to help others. These can be accomplished only if right motives accompany the thought, speech, and action of individuals.

EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES OF SCOTT PREPARATORY SCHOOL

The educational aims of Scott Preparatory School, in order to implement the philosophy, are as follows:

1. Develop in our students proficiency in the tool subjects, as reading, spelling, writing and other language arts, mathematics, and science, which are fundamental to further learning and to effective living in modern society.
2. Cultivate basic mental abilities and certain aptitudes and attitudes in minds of the students for greater social adequacy and personal efficiency:
 - a. To think effectively
 - b. To communicate thought
 - c. To make relevant judgments
 - d. To discriminate among values
3. Help students to strengthen their faith in American democracy and to respect the worth and dignity of all individuals and peoples.
4. Help our students to understand and appreciate the rights and privileges which we enjoy as American citizens, and to feel and be willing to assume the responsibility for maintaining these rights and privileges.
5. Cultivate an appreciation of both the responsibilities and benefits which come to students because they are American and are free. This calls for active participation in group living in the school, home, and community whereby youth is taught to use the opportunities furnished by society for creative citizenship.
6. Assist in preparing students for functioning citizenship in a changing society through the inclusion of school experiences appropriate to this end.
7. Assist our students to develop respect for the rights and property of others.
8. Assure the student intellectual freedom, but not at the expense of ethical and emotional disciplines.
9. Help our students to develop sound bodies, wholesome mental and emotional attitudes, and to form desirable habits.

10. Cultivate understanding and fair-mindedness in dealing with other race and creeds.

11. Train our students to base their thinking upon facts so that they may use their knowledge in the constructive solution of the problems which they meet in everyday life.

12. Assist our students in choosing and preparing for socially useful vocations consonant with their abilities and interests. Help them understand that education is a continuous process.

13. Develop on the part of our students the powers of creative expression and an appreciation of aesthetic values as found in art, music, literature and nature.

14. Assist our students in making wholesome and satisfying use of leisure time.

15. Assist our students in building character traits, such as honesty, accuracy, kindness, humility and reverence for God as the backbone of their education.

16. Help our students to become conscious of the fact that our responsibility as world citizens in the space and jet age makes it necessary for us to develop a friendly and understanding attitude towards people of other lands - their customs, their cultures, and their aspirations.

17. Develop mental health as the basis for social adjustment and personal adjustment.

18. Inculcate an admiration for high quality in human living by instilling an appreciation for a wholesome home life as the foundation of the American heritage.

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